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The Avalon
Peninsula of
Newfoundland:

An Ethno-
linguistic Study

By E. R. Seary
G. M. Story
W. J. Kirwin

Canada 1968

Department of the
Secretary of State

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THE AVALON PENINSULA OF NEWFOUNDLAND:
AN ETHNO-LINGUISTIC STUDY



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Preface

The following study was undertaken in 1957 at the invitation of Dr. Jacques Rousseau, then Director, Human History Branch, National Museum of Canada, who envisaged a survey which would serve as a model for similar work elsewhere in Canada. How far this may prove to be the case is not for us to say; but in presenting the results of some five years of investigation we have taken special pains to make clear certain problems inherent in such a study, whether in material or methodology, for although we hope the study, assembling as it does much material not commonly brought together, will be of interest to a wide range of readers and students, it is chiefly as a pilot survey of a rather special kind that this monograph was written.

The original proposal was for a survey of the whole Island of Newfoundland, but this was quickly seen to be too ambitious. Such an undertaking must await the careful and systematic collation of extant material, as well as the working out of techniques of investigation appropriate to so large a task. There are a number of areas in the Province which seemed promising for a start: the coast of Labrador, with its Indian, Eskimo, and white population; the West Coast of Newfoundland, with its considerable French and mixed population; the South Coast; and the Avalon Peninsula. In the end, the last of these areas was selected. For one thing, the Avalon Peninsula is a meaningful geographic unit. Moreover, as the oldest settled part of the Island of Newfoundland, it contains communities with a long and often continuous history. It would, unfortunately, be too much to say that the Peninsula has a fully documented history; but compared with most other parts of the Province it does offer the investigator a variety of evidence to assist him in the intricate task of ethno-linguistic interpretation. Finally, the area was readily accessible for field-work.

Ideally, the purpose of such a survey as this is to discover the precise settlement pattern in a given area and to determine racial and linguistic origins and affiliation—in short, to trace the natural history of a people. In practice, more modest results are usually all that can be expected, and this for two reasons. In the first place, the great complexity of the subject to be investigated requires an impossible conjunction of knowledge and skill in such diverse fields as toponymy, linguistics, history, anthropology, sociology, economics, cartography, and so on, if it is to be fully elucidated. It is our hope that this survey, inadequate as it must be, will serve as an illustration of the need for interdisciplinary investigation of common problems. In the second place, we constantly found ourselves either lacking, or compelled to provide for the first time, information of the most basic kinds. This is at once the challenge and

the despair of anyone investigating problems in Newfoundland; and the inevitable result is that we have frequently found ourselves writing a list of *desiderata* in Newfoundland studies: reliable local histories of the settlements; studies in family history and family names; reprints of scarce documents; detailed studies of the various phases of the inshore, bank, Labrador, and seal fisheries; studies in the social history of Newfoundland—and on scores of other subjects in which little systematic work has as yet been done.

We have tried to make use of our own special interests (toponymy and dialects) without allowing these to influence unduly our methods and findings. The historical orientation of much of our material is deliberate; it will offend some sociologists, just as some historians may not care for our (again deliberate) occasional technique of sampling and our use of impressionistic quotation to give life and colour to the scene we depict. The poems of Miss Henrietta Prescott are as much a 'historical source' as the population estimates of an 18th century governor or the journal of Archdeacon Wix—and perhaps a not more subjective treatment of the subject than theirs.

Throughout most of the work of investigation and preparation a rough division of labour was achieved. Thus, E. R. Seary drafted Part One, the account of the Avalon Peninsula, its discovery and early settlement; G. M. Story drafted Part Two, the background and development of the communities, and the select gazetteer; and W. J. Kirwin prepared Part Three, the account of the dialect areas. Mr. Kirwin is also chiefly responsible for the linguistic field-work. However, we have each so contributed to one another's respective sections, both in preliminary discussion and during the process of revision, that we neither can distinguish between them, nor have we a desire to do so: we are jointly responsible for the whole study.

This study was completed in September 1961, and apart from some editorial changes no attempt has been made to revise it in the light of subsequent investigations and reflection. However, a few references to material not available when the book was being written have been added. It is apparent that many of the *desiderata* lamented by the authors in this Preface are being filled, and not least by intensive community studies proceeding under the aegis of the University's Institute of Social and Economic Research.

For assistance of various kinds we offer our sincere thanks to Dr. C. W. Andrews, Dr. P. Copes, Dr. L. G. Harris, and Dr. W. F. Summers, present or former colleagues in the departments of Biology, Economics, History, and Geography; Mr. W. A. Black, Geographical Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa; Mr. Colin Story, specialist in technology, Department of Fisheries, Government of Newfoundland; Mr. J. H. Burridge, M.B.E., Director of Crown Lands and Survey, the Government of Newfoundland; to our students who helped in extracting statistical data; to Miss Florence Bartlett (Mrs. Robert McNeily) and Mrs. W. Martin for their patience and care in typing a varied and difficult manuscript; and to the University Library, the Gosling Memorial Library, the Legislative Library, and the Provincial Archives. Informants in many communities added pleasure to the invariable profit of our visits.

This book does not bear a dedication; but if it did, it would be addressed to the gallant band of Newfoundland historians, antiquaries, and students of place-names, folklore, and language, who, if they have left much to be done, have won the affection that comes from a shared delight in the common task.

E.R.S.
G.M.S.
W.J.K.

Department of English Language and Literature,
Memorial University of Newfoundland,
St. John's, Newfoundland.

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Résumé

Cette étude fut entreprise à l'origine comme un projet spécial pour servir de modèle à d'autres travaux semblables ailleurs. Elle a pour objet la péninsule d'Avalon, dans l'île de Terre-Neuve, qui constitue l'unité géographique et historique la plus ancienne du Canada. L'étude porte sur le procédé de la colonisation de la région en question et essaye de déterminer les origines raciales et linguistiques et leur affiliation à l'aide d'une variété de procédés d'examen—bref, elle essaye d'établir l'histoire humaine de la région.

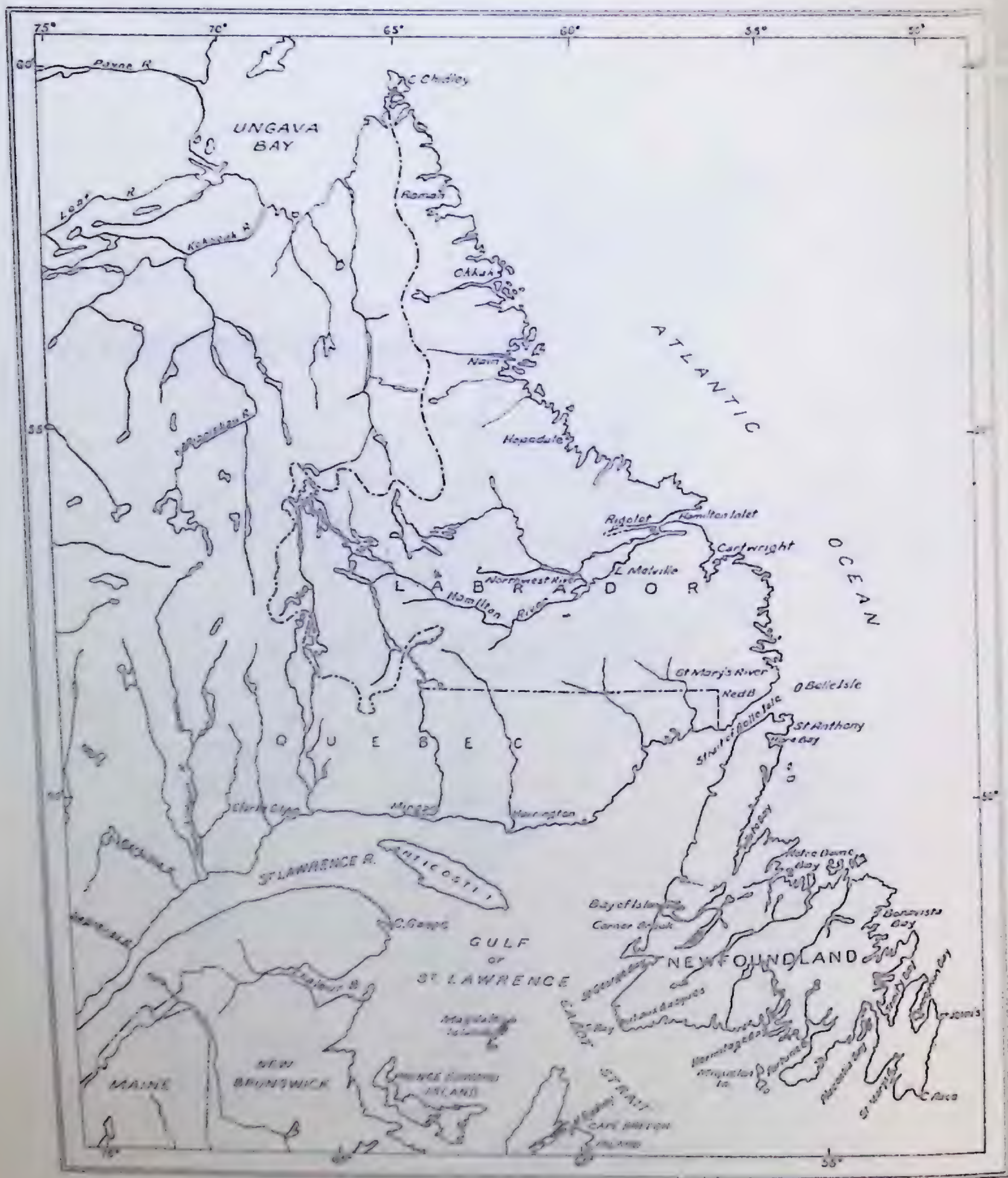
L'étude se divise en trois parties.

La première partie examine les premiers voyages européens et les premiers établissements en terre neuve au 15^e, 16^e et début du 17^e siècles. Elle se caractérise par une étude de la toponymie de la péninsule qui est d'un intérêt tout particulier au cartographe historique et à l'étudiant des noms de lieu en anglais, français, portugais, irlandais et micmac.

La deuxième partie expose brièvement l'évolution des colonies anglaises à partir de la fin du 17^e siècle jusqu'au début du 19^e siècle, lorsque Terre-Neuve fut reconnue comme une colonie de la Couronne britannique. Cette partie raconte la croissance de la colonisation à travers les différentes étapes d'une économie qui reposait principalement sur les pêcheries; elle examine les preuves disponibles de l'origine des centres urbains et de l'affiliation de leur population, et conclut avec un répertoire géographique bien choisi des principales colonies.

La troisième partie expose les résultats d'une étude linguistique d'Avalon. Elle fait la distinction entre quatre dialectes principaux; elle décrit leurs aspects caractéristiques de phonologie, de syntaxe et d'étymologie et elle prévoit la tendance probable de développement linguistique dans une période de changement rapide économique et social.

L'étude se termine par un certain nombre d'annexes et une bibliographie.



MAP FIG. 2--Newfoundland and Labrador

DESCRIPTION

The Avalon Peninsula is that part of southeast Newfoundland east of Placentia and Trinity bays. It is connected to the rest of the island by an isthmus which at its narrowest is not more than two to three miles wide; it contains about one-twelfth of the total area of the island. The coastline extends south from Grates Point around the great indentation of Conception Bay, down the east coast (locally known as the Southern Shore) to Cape Race, around Trepassey Bay and St. Mary's Bay on the south coast, and forms the eastern coast of Placentia Bay and the southern and eastern coasts of Trinity Bay. Its main physical features are the two northerly and two southerly lesser peninsulas which form more than half its area; the many small but deep indentations which pit most of the coast except the Placentia peninsula; and the peneplain of the interior (the Barrens), covered with scrub and innumerable small lakes (ponds) and traced with a filigree of streams and brooks. The population of the Peninsula, 188,904 in 1961, is some 41.3 per cent of the population of Newfoundland.

With few exceptions, all the settlements are on the coast, and J. P. Howley's statement, made in 1876, that "There is scarcely a habitation anywhere situated five miles from the salt water,"¹ needs little modification today. The settlements range in size from St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland (pop. 63,633), to the outports, which may be towns such as Harbour Grace or Carbonear, or communities of a few families such as Tors Cove or La Manche.

The distribution of the settlements is to be first explained by the nature of the coastline: the east coast falls steeply to the sea and is characterized by deep bays which, though they provide safe anchorage, are a hindrance to land-travel between communities. The widely scattered nature of the settlements is also a consequence of the fishing economy which first led to European settlement. Prosecuted for the most part by small 'crews,' fishing led to the proliferation of a myriad of tiny villages perched on the coast as near as possible to the sea.

The seas surrounding Newfoundland are, for the most part, shallow and are marked by the numerous 'banks' that form part of the Continental Shelf. On one side, the Island faces the Gulf of St. Lawrence, into which through recent geological ages the drainage from about one-third of the interior of northeastern America has been pouring. The Island's northeast coast forms a deflection for the Arctic Current which, joining with the affluents from the St. Lawrence, mixes around the Grand Banks with the Gulf Stream in a giant clockwise vortex. The sea environment, consequently, is uniquely favourable for marine organisms, producing in abundance microscopic life upon which

¹Howley, J. P., *Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 2.

feed the crustaceans. These, in turn, feed squid, caplin, cod, herring, lobster, salmon, and (in their turn) seals and whales. As J. D. Rogers has observed:

Newfoundland from within reveals only a fraction of its nature. Its heart is on its outside; there its pulse beats, and whatever is alive inside its exoskeleton is alive by accident. The sea clothes the island as with a garment, and that garment contains the vital principle and soul of the national life of Newfoundland.¹

OCCUPATIONS

Up to 1949, the principal occupations of the inhabitants of the outports were the cod-fishery in the summer, both locally and on the Labrador; the seal-fishery in the spring; wood-cutting in winter; agriculture in the few arable districts; and iron-ore mining on Bell Island in Conception Bay. Since the confederation of Newfoundland with Canada, the provincial government has established new, light industries in such places as Brigus, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear to make good the decline of the seal and cod fisheries and the demise of some older industries in the principal communities.

COMMUNICATIONS

Today most of the settlements are joined by roads, as well as by the other strong links of telephone, radio, and television; but until Sir Thomas Cochrane, Governor of Newfoundland from 1825 to 1834, instituted a far-sighted program of road-building, roads were unknown, and the only means of communication was by sea² or on foot along the trails. In 1840, the road between Brigus and Carbonear, sixteen miles in length, was considered 'the longest piece of road in the island.'³ The importance of roads in breaking down the old isolation may be seen in an observation of Rogers on two of Cochrane's projects: "Two local roads were to lead from St. John's direct to Portugal Cove and to Topsail in Conception Bay, each of which would reduce a sixty-mile voyage by sea to a ten or twelve mile journey by land."⁴ Of travel by land, Archbishop Howley relates how in the old days men from Patrick's Cove on Placentia Bay used to fetch supplies from St. John's, a journey which took three to four days on foot:

They travelled over the marshes and barrens without, of course, any roads but a mere footpath. They went by North Harbour and John's Pond. Thence across the 'tickle' to Haricot. Or if the weather was stormy, by Colinet to Quigley's, Hurley's, Carey's, and on to Holy Rood, thence to St. John's. In returning they carried a heavy load on their shoulders, several stone of flour and other necessities.⁵

The name 'Crossing Place River' recalls how, to avoid Holyrood Pond, the trail from the mouth of Northwest Brook (Trepassey Harbour) to St. Mary's Harbour made a northerly detour to the place where the river enters the pond.

The first railway project in Newfoundland was for a line from St. John's to Hall's Bay in Notre Dame Bay, and between 1884 and 1887 the line was completed as far as Harbour Grace, serving communities along the coast at the

¹Rogers, J. D., *A Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 190.

²Even today, it is not unknown for shoppers to make the short journey from Cupids to Clarke's Beach by sea rather than by road.

³Jukes, J. B., *Excursions in and about Newfoundland*, p. 70, quoted by Rogers, *A Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 172.

⁴Op. cit., p. 171.

⁵Howley, M. F., "Newfoundland Name Lore," Article XXIX, *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, March 1910.

head of Conception Bay. In 1888 an extension from Whitbourne to Placentia gave rail communication between St. John's and Placentia Bay. Some twenty years later, in 1908, the government arranged for the laying of a number of branch lines, especially in the Avalon Peninsula: from Whitbourne to Heart's Content, from Harbour Grace to Bay de Verde, and from St. John's to Trepassey; but they proved to be uneconomic, and in 1932 the lines from St. John's to Trepassey and from Carbonear to Bay de Verde were taken up; in June 1939 the service from Whitbourne to Heart's Content seems to have been discontinued.

DISCOVERY

Whatever may be the merits of the conflicting claims of Newfoundland and Cape Breton as the place of Cabot's landfall in 1497, there is evidence to show that during the next fifty years the coasts of Newfoundland, and especially of the Avalon Peninsula, had become known to navigators and cartographers and that the harbours provided a rendezvous for the fishing fleets from Europe. The early incidence of Portuguese and French names on maps showing the east coast would seem to indicate the interest taken by explorers and fishermen from Portugal and France in the New Found Land, though G.R.F. Prowse refused to acknowledge "a single Portuguese name on the American north east coast," maintaining that "It was not until about 1520 that England had a school of pilots-marine surveyors, so that all the primary English expeditions were mapped by Portuguese pilots and practically all the earlier maps were completed in Lisbon or were copies of such maps."¹ Elsewhere, Prowse quotes Richard Blome's *The Present State of His Majesties Iles and Territories in America*, 1687: "Normands, Portugals and Brittaines of France resorted to Newfoundland and changed the names which had been given by the English to the Bays and Promontories."²

Whether the assertions of Prowse and Blome are correct or not, the fact remains that there are still names on the coasts of the Peninsula of undeniably Portuguese and French origin, though they have often been anglicized. A manuscript map of the North Atlantic by Pedro Reinel, which may be as early as 1502,³ contains: *y dos bacalhas* (Baccalieu I.), *b da conceicao* (Conception Bay), *C da espera* (Cape Spear), *R das patas*, *R de sam francisco*, and *C raso* (Cape Race). An anonymous manuscript map of the Atlantic, ascribed to Jorge Reinel (1516-22) has, in addition, *R de Sam joham* (St. John's), *R da aguea* (Aquaforte), *R fermoso* (Fermeuse). Verrazano, 1529, adds *Farilham* (Ferryland).

In the account of Cartier's second voyage, 1535-6, is *Rougnouse* (Renews), which received a navigational warning in Jean Alfonse's *Cosmographie*, 1544: "Et à la mer de la baye de Rogneuse, environ vne lieue et demye en la mer, y a vng mauvais rocher, qui semble à vng basteau." Alfonse was the navigator who accompanied Roberval to Canada in 1541.⁴ Other early French names, some original, some from the Portuguese, are: *cap de Raze* (Cartier, 1536); *baie de*

¹Prowse, G.R.F., *Cartological Material*, Vol. III, p. i, iii.

²*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

³Sixteenth-Century Maps relating to Canada, p. 30.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 88.

Sainte Jean, Isles d'espoir, Baye de l'islet, Cap d'espoir (Alfonse, 1544); *conception* (Desliens, 1541); *I de plaisance* (Desceliers, c. 1542); *B st marie* (Harleian Map, 1542-3); *Forrillon*, the French version of the Portuguese *Farilham*, *Plaisance* (Placentia) (Desceliers, 1542), "qui tire son nom de plazencia que les espagnols luy donnerent."¹

The first English place name to survive on the Avalon Peninsula seems to be 'Bay of Bulls' (Bay Bulls), in a map ascribed to Thomas Hood 1592.

· BEOTHUKS AND MICMACS ·

Evidence of the presence of Beothuk Indians in Newfoundland at the time of the first recorded arrival of Europeans is attested in a number of early documents.² Some of these accounts may refer to Indians in the Avalon Peninsula, then the best known and, as now, the most frequented part of Newfoundland. John Guy encountered them on the isthmus joining the Avalon Peninsula to the mainland of Newfoundland in October-November 1612,³ but according to Whitbourne, by 1622, "they liue altogether in the North and West part of the Countrey, which is seldome frequented by the English."⁴ Apparently, as the Avalon Peninsula became more populous, the Beothuks deserted it in favour of inland regions and the coast farther north.

So, too, at a later date, the Micmac Indians confined themselves to waterways and hunting-grounds in southern, western, central, and northern Newfoundland and, as Bonnycastle noted in 1842, "are seldom or never . . . observed on the eastern shores, where their hunting would prove more precarious, where the white man chiefly dwells, and where the winter is extremely boisterous, uncertain, and severe."⁵

Nevertheless, traces of Indian association with the Avalon Peninsula are to be found in the nomenclature, as in two Indian Ponds, one near Holyrood, the other near Northern Bay; in Salvage Point, Old Perlican, and Salvage Rock, Harbour Grace, pronounced [sæl'veidʒ], thus implying some French influence and recalling Mr. T. S. Eliot's note to *The Dry Salvages*: "The Dry Salvages—presumably *les trois sauvages*—is a small group of rocks, with a beacon, off the northeast coast of Cape Ann, Massachusetts. *Salvages* is pronounced to rhyme with *assuages*"⁶; and in Ochre Pit Cove, south of Northern Bay, which recalls Whitbourne's observation: "... it is well knowne, that the Natives of those parts have great store of red okar, wherewith they use to colour their bodies, Bowes, Arrowes and Cannowes."⁷

The baffling Kitchuses, Conception Harbour, is popularly believed to be derived from the name of an apocryphal tavern-keeper, one Kit Hughes. How

¹Lahontan, c. 1696 in *The Oakes Collection*, p. 54.

²Hoffman, B. G., *Cabot to Cartier*, p. 11, 29, 31, 165, 168-9, 169-70, 177-8, 200-1, 215.

³See below, p. 15.

⁴Whitbourne, Sir Richard, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland*, p. 2.

⁵Bonnycastle, Sir Richard, *Newfoundland in 1842*, p. 212-3.

⁶*Four Quartets* (London: Faber, 1944), p. 25.

⁷Whitbourne, Sir Richard, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland*, p. 110.

folk etymology may on occasion find support from other sources, however, may be seen from the following:

Quitouche, pour désigner une femme de mœurs douteuses, dérive de *toutouche* (sein, dans le dialecte mistassin) Cette appellation anatomique, accompagnée de l'adjectif possessif à la deuxième personne, se traduit par *kitoutouche* dans les dialectes algonquins. De là *quitouche*, emprunté par les coureurs des bois pour désigner les mêmes particularités anatomiques. Tout en conservant ce sens aujourd'hui, il a acquis en outre l'autre acception.¹

Two breast-like hillocks rise behind the settlement.

A group of Micmac names occurs in the *Geological Survey of Newfoundland, Report for 1872*, in a survey of Rocky River and its tributary Big Barren Branch by J. P. Howley, who records among English names the following Micmac names:²

Nu-cool-minni-guloo Gospen (- - - - Islands Pond), *Taboo-minnigu-guloo Gospen* (Two Islands Pond), *Tseist-minnigu-guloo Gospen* (Three Islands Pond), *Wage-digulsiboo Gospen* (Approach - - - - River Pond), *Tusem Gospen* (- - - - Pond), *Mestigue-gundaly Gospen* (?Great Land Pond). To these may be added *Quemo Gospen* (Loon Pond), near Whitbourne, in Admiralty Chart 232a, 1870. The names recorded by Howley, like the description of the Dildo River "given by the Indians,"³ were doubtless communicated to him by local Micmac guides, who gave him Micmac names for ponds without English names. Such a guide was John Stevens of Juniper Stump, who died c. 1897, a notable guide and trapper in Labrador and White Bay, an associate of Captain R. Bartlett.⁴ But how John Stevens came to be living at Juniper Stump and where other Micmacs lived in the area are unfortunately questions to which no answer is forthcoming.

A final Indian name, 'Wabana,' on Bell Island, Conception Bay, was imposed about 1893. "To Thomas Cantley is due the name of the mining town. It is almost the most easterly part of North America and to Cantley's romantic taste it was the place where the daylight first appears. He found an Indian word for it—Wabana."⁵ "*Wâbuna'ki*, from *wâbun*, is a term associated with 'light,' 'white,' and refers to the morning and the east; *a'ki* 'earth,' 'land'; hence *Wâbuna'ki* is an inanimate singular term signifying 'east-land,' or 'morning-land,' the elements referring to animate dwellers of the east being wanting."⁶ Rousseau, however, has *Wabano*, signifying 'une manifestation bruyante.' "Les Têtes-de-boule ont des jongleurs spécialisés, nommés *wabanos*. La cérémonie de la tente tremblante nécessite une autre sorte de jongleurs. Pour les forestiers du Saint Maurice, *wabano*, devenu le nom de cette cérémonie, signifie toute réunion tumultueuse," op. cit., p. 96.

For an account of the ceremony of the Shaking Tent, see R. S. Lambert, *Exploring the Supernatural* (Toronto, 1955), Chap. I and II.

¹Rousseau, J., "Les Américanismes du Parler Canadien-français," *Le Cahier des Dix*, No. 21, p. 94, 1956.

²Translation, wholly or in part, of the Micmac is given in parenthesis.

³Op. cit., p. 284.

⁴Information from Mrs. Ellen Fowler, Stevens's daughter, born c. 1873.

⁵*The Daily News*, St. John's, 16 January 1962.

⁶'Abnaki' in Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, Part 1, 2.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

Apart from place names, the early voyageurs and fishermen, of whatever nationality, left no trace of their visits to Newfoundland. The practice of the fishermen in general was to come to Newfoundland for the summer fishing season and to return to Europe for the winter, though D. W. Prowse asserts that "small bands of settlers [? English, or of different nationalities] had, for years before Guy's arrival [1610], been settled on the eastern coast, between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista. The first of these colonies were [sic] planted in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and gradually extended around Conception Bay, thence north to Cape Bonavista, and south to Cape Race."¹ Early settlement at Renew's by Bretons may perhaps be presumed from the following statements: "vng hable, nommé Rougnouse, ou prinsmes eaues et boys, pour traverser la mer; et la laissames l'vne de noz barques" (Cartier, 1536), and "Soit faict memoire de la marcque de mes basteaux et barques, que je laisse en la Terre Nœufve, au havre de Jehan Denys, dict Rougnouse" (? c. 1544, Jehan Cordyer of Rouen).²

Similarly, the first attempts at organized colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Gilbert's annexation of Newfoundland in 1583; Guy's 'Sea-Forest Plantation' of 1610 in the area near Brigus and Port de Grave in Conception Bay, with its sub-colony near Harbour Grace; Vaughan's near Trepassey in 1616; Falkland's near Renew's in 1623; Baltimore's at Ferryland in 1621; a colony without a governor at St. John's about 1622; Kirke's at Ferryland in 1637; and the French establishment at Placentia in 1662—failed to make any other impress, not that the place-names imposed by some of these colonists are without interest.³

In October and November 1612, John Guy made an exploratory voyage of Trinity Bay and gave names to two places frequented by Indians: "a harbour in the South bottome of Trinitie bay, which now is called by us Savage Harbour. Heere we found some savage housen . . . & a broad way leading from the seaside throughe the woodes" and "Flagstaffe Harbour because we fownd theare the flagstaffe throwen by the savages away." Guy also seems to make the first mention of Carbonera (Carbonar), Harbor de Grace (Harbour Grace), Baccaleau (Baccalieu Island), Greene bay (Bay de Verde), the Grates (Grates Point), Hartes Content (Hearts Content), Pernecam (Perlican), Old Pernecam (Old Perlican) and Torrebay (Torbay).⁴

¹Prowse, D. W., *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*, p. 93. The assertion is amplified at p. 99, note 1.

²Biggar, H. P., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, p. 239-40.

³"Successful colonization in Newfoundland in the first half of the seventeenth century was hampered not only by the unfavourable climate and the unsatisfactory character of the soil for agriculture, but also by the restrictions placed upon the proprietors and planters in the charters of 1610, 1622-23, 1634, and 1637," as well as by the active opposition of transient fishermen and by lack of funds. Lounsbury, R. G., *The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634-1763*, p. 128.

⁴*Discoverie made by John Guy in Newfoundland in anno 1612 in and about 48: degrees of Latitude towards the pole Articke:*

A Journall of the voldage of discoverie made in a barke builde in Newfoundland called the Indeavour, begunne the 7 of october 1612, & ended the 25th of November following: By John Guy of Bristow: Lambeth MS. 250ff. 406-12, transcribed in The New World. A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Books, Maps, Manuscripts, and Documents, held at Lambeth Palace Library between 1 May and 1 December 1957. [London] Lambeth Palace Library, 1957.

Avalon itself is the only survival of several names, mainly of Welsh or quasi-classical origin, such as Cambriola, Cardiffe, Rhenus, Glamorgan, Colchos, Pembroke, Cardigan, Brechonia, given to places in Vaughan's colony and found in a map by John Mason, governor of Newfoundland from 1615 to 1621, in Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece*, 1626.

Three pieces of biographical information have been preserved from the seventeenth century, two of them, unfortunately, anonymous. The abbé Jean Beaudoin states in his *Journal* of Havre-de-Grace (Harbour Grace): "Ce havre est le premier estably par les Anglais en l'isle de Terre-Neuve. Il mourut icy un habitant, il y a trois ans, né en ce lieu, âgé de quatre-vingt-trois ans" and adds a note: "Cet Anglais serait donc né à Terre Neuve en 1600",¹ [*sic* for 1610] thus anticipating the birth of the 'lusty boy' in Guy's colony in 1613. Perhaps the first ordinary settler whose name finds a place in official documents is Isaac Dethick who, according to a deposition of 2 January, 1668, by John Rayner, late Deputy Governor of Newfoundland, "was forced to remove from Grand Placentia and settle at Bay of Ards" (Bay de Verde) in 1663, because of the French.²

A comprehensive statement of the extent of settlement in the Avalon Peninsula in the latter half of the seventeenth century is contained in "A description of the harbours of Newfoundland . . . from Cape Bonavista to Cape de Race, being as much as is at present inhabited by the English . . . Bay of Veares (Bay de Verde) with 3 or 4 families, a small dangerous coue; Carboneare, with 5 or 6 families, an indifferent good harbour; Harbour Grace, with 14 or 15 families, a harbour of great safety, but dangerous without a pilot; Port Grave, a small harbour with 3 or 4 families; Harbour Maine, in Conception Bay, with 2 or 3 families; Belle Isle [Bell Island in Conception Bay], an island without inhabitants; Tor Bay, a small fishing cove with 5 or 6 families; St. John's with 50 families, the best port in the whole land . . . Pettye Harbour, a small port with 3 families; Bay of Bulls, with 10 families . . . Capelyn Bay (Calvert), with about 6 families; Cape Broyle, a good harbour with no inhabitants; Trepastye (Trepassey), 10 leagues west of Cape de Race, with 5 families . . ."³

Except for the establishment of a settlement at Placentia in 1662, little has survived about the French in the Avalon Peninsula, though Guy's mention of Carbonear and Harbour Grace seems to indicate presence of the French before the foundation of Guy's colony in 1610. Carbonear appears to be an anglicization of Fr. Charbonnier or Carbonnier, a common family name, or Charbonnière, a place-name, both derived from *charbon*—charcoal, and signifying a maker or dealer in charcoal or a place where charcoal is made. Despite Beaudoin's statement that Havre-de-Grace "est le premier estably par les Anglais en l'isle de Terre-Neuve,"⁴ the name is essentially French, transferred from Hâvre-de-Grace, now Le Havre, founded by Francis I in 1517.⁵

¹"Journal du Voyage que j'ay fait avec M. D'Iberville . . . Du 26 juin 1696 jusqu'en Mai 1697" (par l'abbé Jean Beaudoin) in *Les Normans au Canada*, par l'Abbé A. Gosselin, p. 86.

²*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, Vol. I, p. 558, 1729.

³*Ibid.*, 1675-1676, 466, I, 183.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵See Prowse, D. W., *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Other settlements and features bearing names of French origin, besides those on p. 7, are St. Shotts, *cap de Chincete* (Alfonse, 1544), O. Fr. *cincette* or *chic-chette*—little rag, as in Newfoundland usage of ragged to describe a harbour encumbered with shoals; Trepassey, *trépassés* (Le Testu, 1555), Fr. *trépassé(s)*—dead, the dead, probably after the Baie des Trépassés, Brittany; and Harbour Main, Harbour Maine (Blathwate c. 1630, probably after the Breton saint Mein).

Colinet is a French family name. Cape Mutton is probably transferred from Le Grand Mouton, Brittany. Bauline is French *baleine*—whale. La Manche may be after the French name for the English Channel. Port de Grave, Fr. *grève*, *grave*—shingle, is the harbour with the shingle beach—for drying cod, though Grave is also a French family name. Quidi Vidi, a name which has received many forms and interpretations, is probably the Norman family name Quiédéville. These names first occur in Robinson 1669, though not always in their present form.

Southwood in 1675 has Bois Island, Ferryland, Fr. *bois*—wood, and Gaudy 1715 Crèveœur Point, Creveœur (Breakheart) being both a not uncommon French name for “un endroit qui par sa sterilité vous crève le cœur”¹ and a Norman family name.

Michael Lane, 1773, added Cape Freels, after Cap Fréhel, Brittany; La Haye Point, Fr. *haye*—hedge, and a family name; and Point Latine, Fr. *latine*—lateen (sail). Admiralty Chart 2915, 1864, has Lansecan Hill, Fr. *l'anse à cane*—Duck or Reed Cove, and Barasway, Fr. *barachois*—shallow, natural harbour, surrounded by rocks level with the water. Later impositions include Jerseyside, Nord Pond, Pierres Brook, Piccos Brook (? French family name—Picaud, though some Piccos believe the name to be Portuguese), and Gushues Pond (? French family name—Guizot, probably from its Breton form—Guiziou).

In all, the French names on the Avalon Peninsula are far from numerous, in contrast, for example, with their prevalence (19.3%) on the Northern Peninsula and, unlike the English and Irish place-names, are rarely derived from family names. A number of names of Breton and Norman origin are to be seen in the foregoing, but no attempt has been made to distinguish Channel Island and other French regional influences on the nomenclature.

Despite the operation of a series of restrictive, burdensome rules, designed wholly to favour the seasonal trade of West Country merchants with Newfoundland at the expense of those who wished to establish themselves as permanent inhabitants, settlement progressed steadily,² especially in the Avalon Peninsula. The condition of the settlers at the end of the century has been summarized thus:

By 1699 the planters [settlers] were firmly established albeit not prosperous. All continued to live as close to the water as possible for the crown had made no attempt to enforce the restrictive clauses of the charter of 1676 requiring their emigration or withdrawal six miles inland. The kitchen gardens and barnyards of the planters were adjacent to the spaces devoted to salting and drying fish. Wandering livestock knocked over piles of cod and trampled them, much to the annoyance of the West Countrymen. Although no one had a legal title to his riparian land continuous occupancy for several fishing seasons gave the planters and byboatmen a vested interest which

¹Rostaing, C., *Les Noms de Lieux*, p. 98.

²The best account of the rules is given in Lounsbury, *passim*.

amounted to a prior claim in case of dispute with fishing admirals.¹ Holdings were not formally registered, although from time to time the commodores drew up lists of the occupiers in the more important harbours. Later these lists served the purpose of tenurial records tantamount to copy hold. A great deal of confusion resulted at St. John's when the old lists were burned in the fire of 1746. Disputes regarding land were usually decided orally by the officers of the navy, and written records of the evidence and decision of the commodores exist for only a few cases. After the departure of the ships in September the inhabitants had little to do until the following spring. Winter set in so early that fishing had to be abandoned, and there were no other profitable enterprises in which the people could engage. Sealing, which was later to become an important industry during the off-season, was as yet undeveloped. The more enterprising Newfoundlanders occupied themselves in building boats, bringing in timber, and making repairs, but a great many did nothing but drink and enjoy themselves. There were no schools, the first grammar school being established at St. John's in 1799, and most of the inhabitants were illiterate. Stories of the exploits of hardy fishermen and other heroes were passed on from generation to generation in the form of ballads, and singing kept up the spirits of the people during the long cold months. Unlike the continental colonies, Newfoundland was late in becoming a centre of activity for the churches [and] . . . there was no resident priest of the Church of England until 1701.²

(A gap in the original sources for this twilight period has been filled by the discovery and publication of *The Journal of James Yonge*, which appeared too late for us to use. Yonge, a Plymouth surgeon, made three voyages to Newfoundland, in 1662, 1669, and 1670. His account of the organization and technique of the fishery, and of the communities of the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula is the fullest that has survived from this period.)

The eighteenth century saw no improvement in the lot of the settlers under the jurisdiction of the Royal Navy which began to supersede that of the fishing admirals after 1702; only with the belated grant of representative government in 1832 did settlers in Newfoundland begin even in theory to enjoy the privileges that colonists elsewhere had almost always taken for granted.³ Indeed, the most striking phenomenon in eighteenth-century settlement, the great influx of Irish settlers, if anything, served to make conditions worse.

According to Lounsbury, settlers from the early settlements of Guy, Calvert, Vaughan, and Kirke remained as permanent residents in Newfoundland even after the collapse of the organized enterprises.⁴ It seems not unreasonable to believe that the majority of these settlers were English, with a Welsh element from the settlements of Vaughan and Kirke. In the course of time, to their number were added men from the West Country shipping fleets, men from

¹1708 Royal Proclamation, June 26, in *London Gazette*, mmmmmcccclii, "It is . . . Enacted, That whoever should after the said Five and twentieth Day of *March*, first enter with his Fishing-Ship, any Harbour or Creek in *Newfoundland*, should be for that Season Admiral of the said Harbour or Creek, and should reserve so much Beech or Flakes as should be necessary for his Boats, and One over, as a Privilege . . . ; and the Master of the Second Fishing-Ship Entering such Harbour . . . , shall be Vice-Admiral, and the Master of the Third Ship . . . , Rear-Admiral for that Season." *OED*.

The First Western Charter, which legalized the institution of fishing admirals, was dated at Westminster, 10 February 1634.

Reminders of the rule of the Admirals are preserved in the place-names Admirals Cove (Lane 1773) and Vice-Admirals Cove [now Kingmans Cove] (Gaudy 1715) in Fermeuse Harbour, Admirals Cove (Lane 1773) in Cape Broyle Harbour, and Admirals Beach (?) (Lane 1773), St. Mary's Bay.

²Lounsbury, R. G., *The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634-1763*, p. 206-8.

³For an account of the vicissitudes of the settlers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see McLintock, A. H., *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832*, *passim*.

⁴Lounsbury, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 55. He adduces no evidence for this assertion.

Bristol, Bideford, Barnstaple, Falmouth, Truro, Fowey, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Exeter, Weymouth, Southampton, and many other places who, for one reason or another, decided to remain in Newfoundland rather than return to England.

But Lounsbury goes on, "The presence of considerable numbers of Irish Catholics had been remarked as early as 1720 by Commodore Percy, many of whom were brought out in fishing ships from Bristol, Bideford and Barnstaple, which were accustomed to call at Irish ports on the outward voyage for provisions and labor. . . . Usually a good many remained in Newfoundland at the end of the fishing season, and by 1729 the number of those resident in the island had considerably increased. . . . By 1731 a majority of the male population of the island was Irish Catholic. . . . In 1746, Commodore Douglas made mention of them in his report, and in 1748, Governor Watson was directed to ascertain the exact number of those among them who were capable of bearing arms, as they were said to outnumber the Protestants. Watson discovered that there was a considerable number in Newfoundland, but that they were not as numerous as circumstances made it appear. They outbalanced the Protestants in St. John's and the southern outports [i.e., along the eastern and southern shores of the Avalon Peninsula] but comprised only one-fifth of the population in the northern harbours, and the governor estimated that they formed about a quarter of the total population."¹

McLintock continues the story of Irish immigration in the second half of the eighteenth century:

Though the issuing of proclamations could scarcely be expected to check the growth of population, the governors were forced to adopt such unsatisfactory modes of procedure. As early as 1764, in consequence of the arrival from Ireland of poor and dissolute women who occasioned much disorder, the indefatigable Palliser had rules that no woman could land unless security for good behaviour had first been lodged. But it needed more than proclamations to stem the steady flow of emigration, especially from Ireland, which proceeded almost unchecked. Knowing the difficulty of securing servants at Newfoundland, the western fishermen on their way to the banks would call at Cork or Waterford to procure provisions and 'cargoes' of Irish emigrants. Left destitute in the island at the close of the season and frequently pledging their services for the following year in return for a winter's lodging, the poor creatures existed under appalling conditions and although the law frowned upon such proceedings, were often 'spirited' to the New England colonies. Towards the close of the century when the rebellion of the United Irishmen blazed forth, the process of Irish emigration was greatly accelerated. Soon Newfoundland contained thousands of poor Irish servants who defied the authorities to remove them. To prevent the arrival of further destitute and in many cases undesirable new-comers, Governor Gower revived Palliser's forty-year-old proclamation. Efforts by other governors to compel these servants, or dieters as they were called, to leave before the winter failed lamentably. The steady tide of population still flowed on and the war which saw in 1793 an island community of nearly twenty thousand inhabitants concluded in 1815 with double that number there.²

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the steady flow of Irish immigration into Newfoundland proceeded almost unchecked. From 1811 to 1830, the only years for which reliable figures are available, over twenty-four thousand

¹*Ibid.*, p. 300-302.

²McLintock, A. H., *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832*, p. 88-9.

arrived, to constitute during the winter months a grave problem for the authorities.¹

To try to meet the problem, the local authorities for some years from 1816 onwards used to ship back numerous immigrants to Ireland, but, as McLintock comments, this practice was "but a palliative," which could do little to ease the internal situation.²

However, as the century progressed and the United States, Canada, and Australasia attracted ever-increasing numbers of emigrants from the United Kingdom, emigration to Newfoundland dwindled, so that in 1848 only 993 immigrants landed, of whom 757 were Irish; and during the period 1842 to 1875 only 7,642, of whom 4,940 were Irish and 2,702 English and Scotch.³

The impact of Irish settlements in the Avalon Peninsula is well illustrated in that part of the nomenclature of minor coastal settlements and their neighbouring physical features, especially ponds, which were derived from Irish family names. Except for part of the coast of the peninsula in Trinity Bay, Irish family names are found practically everywhere, frequently side by side with English names in Conception Bay and on the Southern Shore as far south as Cape Broyle, but virtually alone from Cape Broyle to Cape Race, in Trepassey Bay, St. Mary's Bay, and Placentia Bay as far north as Long Harbour.

No systematic study of the family names of Newfoundland has yet been undertaken to provide information, which is at present lacking, on the origins of Newfoundland families in England and Ireland and on their migrations within Newfoundland itself. But a cursory glance at the Irish names in the Avalon Peninsula reveals such concentrations as of O'Briens at Cape Broyle, Ryans at Maryvale, Whelans at Colliers, Wades at Conception Harbour, Costellos at Avondale, Powers at several communities in St. Mary's Bay.⁴ Reference to MacLysagt's *Irish Families*⁵ shows the Irish localities, mostly counties in the south and southwest, from which these families came. One generalization may perhaps be made, subject to closer scrutiny, that although many communities consist almost wholly of families with Irish names, there is no evidence of families from the same or neighbouring localities in Ireland joining to form communities in Newfoundland.

One other aspect of Irish nomenclature in the Avalon Peninsula differentiates it from both English and French nomenclature generally in Newfoundland: that in contrast to the large number of names derived from family names, very few Irish place-names have been transferred to Newfoundland.

North of Trepassey are Laden Field's Brook, Irish *leadan*—Burdock, an element found in such Irish place-names as Laddan (Donegal), Tirleyden (Donegal), Turnalayden (Sligo),⁶ and Tocher's Pond, locally Tucker's Pond which may be from Irish *tóchar*—causeway across a bog, made of "branches of

¹*Ibid.*, p. 126-7.

²*Ibid.*, p. 129.

³Rogers, J. D., *A Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 240.

⁴*Official List of Electors 1955*, St. John's, 1955.

⁵MacLysagt, Edward, *Irish Families*, Dublin, 1957.

⁶Joyce, P. W., *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. III, p. 460, 575, 595.

trees, bushes, earth and stones, placed in alternate layers, and trampled down till they are sufficiently firm,"¹ though MacLysagt (p. 307) records an Irish family name Togher, anglicized as Tucker.

Sheep's Head, Fermeuse, may be named after Sheep's Head, County Cork. Cappahayden, south of Renew's, a name imposed by Proclamation on the 23rd December 1913 to replace the older name 'Broad Cove,' is said locally to have been the choice of Archbishop Howley after a Cappahayden, County Kilkenny. Irish *ceapach* (anglicized as Cappagh and Cappa)—plot of land, Hayden's plot, though Hayden is a family name at Cape Broyle (*Electors*, 1955).

Knock Hour Hill, Placentia district, is Irish *cnocodhartha*—pale-grey hill, "now Knockoura in Cork and Galway."² Cove nan Drioch (*sic* for Droich)—Clochan, Placentia Bay, is Irish *droichead*—bridge, *clochan*—stepping-stones or stone-house of beehive shape in Cork and Kerry.³ The first element also occurs in Drogheda, [drakətiz] South River, Conception Bay, after Drogheda, Louth, a small but flourishing boat-building community in the nineteenth century, though it is now virtually abandoned.

Other Irish names are Vinegar Hill, Bay de Grave, Conception Bay, apparently named after Vinegar Hill, near Ennisworthy, Wexford, "which figured very conspicuously in the Rebellion of Ninety-eight"⁴; Ballyhack, Gasters Bay, Conception Bay, presumably Irish though not recorded in Joyce; Skibbereen, a small inland settlement near Holyrood, after Skibereen, Co. Cork, "at the mouth of the river Ilen, on a little creek much frequented by small vessels, formerly . . . called *scibs* (Eng. skiff)"⁵; Bally Haly, Irish *bally*—town, a farm near St. John's established by Col. Haly who, with others, "turned their bayonets into pruning-hooks and initiated farming"⁶ in the eighteenth century; Kilbride, St. John's, Irish *Cill-Bhrighde*—Brigid's or Bride's Church, the name of some thirty-five townlands and parishes throughout Ireland⁷; and Mount Cashel, St. John's, Irish *caiseal*—circular stone fort, Cashel being the name of over fifty townlands in Ireland.⁸

The nomenclature affords no evidence of Scottish settlement on the Avalon Peninsula, though Scottish family names and, indeed, Scottish churches are to be found in some communities.

Conversely, there is ample evidence, besides the nomenclature, of English settlement, though an analysis of family names and place-names would provide useful supplementary evidence of the regional origins of English settlers. An investigation of that size, however, was felt to be beyond the scope of this study.

¹*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 374. Joyce continues, "These *tóchars* were very common all over the country, our annals record the construction of many in early ages, and some of these are still traceable. They have given names to a number of townlands and villages, several of them called Togher, and many others containing the word in combination."

²*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 273, 285.

³*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 364, 368.

⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 597.

⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 42.

⁶Rogers, J. D., *A Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 151.

⁷Joyce, P. W., *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. I, p. 315.

⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 286-7.

PART II:
THE COMMUNITIES



MAP FIG. 3—Labrador

BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT

The Shore Fishery

"In fashioning the political, economic, or social history of Newfoundland," J. D. Rogers has observed,¹ "the cod has been almost omnipotent, and has set its image and superscription upon every institution." Cod brought men to Newfoundland, and cod dictated the pattern of settlement. The prosecution of the great primary fishery provided the economic basis of life on the Island; its various phases governed the movement of peoples, and its organization moulded the social structure of the communities. And it was from the cod-fishery, too, that the secondary fisheries—for caplin, herring, and even, in a sense, seals—sprang, together with a complex of associated activities. The development of the communities of Avalon followed the classic Newfoundland pattern, which was, indeed, itself the archetypal image of life on the Island.

The background of the settlements with which this section is concerned covers a period of almost two centuries. For convenience of presentation, the narrative, though roughly chronological, has been built around the great primary occupations of people. Wherever possible, contemporary accounts have been used because they provide, very often, a relevant social analysis. Contemporary ethno-linguistic material has been presented when available and its presence has, to some extent, dictated the choice of documents drawn upon for direct quotation.

The initial factor leading to the establishment of the English settlements of Avalon was the primacy of the 'dry' fishery; that is, the curing on shore of the catch taken during the summer months by the English fishing fleet. Requiring as it did the provision of secure anchorages, landing-stages, drying-flakes, and shore living quarters, the dry fishery gradually led to the growth of a permanent resident population. It was, however, a slow growth until the nineteenth century.² As long as the Newfoundland fishery was regarded as the preserve of English West Country merchants, who sent their vessels and crews to the 'summer fishing station' and who protected themselves from the competition of a resident fishery by restrictive legislation against permanent settlement, the future of the Newfoundland communities was bleak and uncertain. Nevertheless, the very frequency with which, in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the laws against settlement were brandished is itself an indication of the tenacious life of the harassed communities.

The fishery prosecuted by the residents was the inshore fishery. The profound effects, both past and present, of the inshore fishery on the majority of the inhabitants are illustrated in the detailed descriptions of contemporary witnesses.

¹*A Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 207.

²See Appendix I, "Population Growth in Newfoundland."

One of the earliest accounts, that of Rev. L. A. Anspach, clergyman, teacher, and Justice of the Peace in Newfoundland between 1799 and 1812, is as follows:

The boats used in the inshore cod fishery in June vary in their sizes and in the number of their crews; some having two hands, and these frequently boys and girls merely old and strong enough to handle the line: this is seen in Conception and other bays when the cod-fish is plentiful. Most boats have four men, each with one line on each side of him, and these lines have two hooks; so that in these boats there are no less than sixteen hooks in constant employment. Each hook is furnished with such bait as the season affords; namely, first the entrails of the fish caught with jiggers; next, herring, mackerel, lance, capelin, squids, or young cod; and in default of these, the flesh of sea-fowl.

The boat having taken her station on a ledge, or other shoally ground, each line being fastened on the inside of the boat, and the hooks baited, the man sits at an equal distance from two lines which are committed to his care, moving them from time to time: as soon as the least tightness or motion is observed in the line, it is drawn up with all possible speed, and the fish thrown into the boat, where the hook is then disengaged from its mouth; if it is of a large size, it is seized, as soon as raised to the surface of the water, with a gaff or large hook fixed to the end of the pole. . . .

When a sufficient quantity of fish has been taken to load the boat, it is then carried to the shore in order to be cured: this must be done within a certain time, not exceeding eight and forty hours; otherwise the fish will lose of its value in proportion to the length of the time it is kept without splitting.

The place where the operation of curing cod-fish is performed, is a *stage* or covered platform erected on the shore, with one end projecting over the water, which is called the *stage-head*, and which is fortified with stouters, or very strong shores, to prevent the stage from receiving any damage from ships or boats; it also has longers fixed horizontally at intervals, like so many steps, to facilitate the ascent to the stage. On the fore part of this platform is a table, on one side of which is the *cut-throat*, who takes the fish, cuts with a knife the throat down to the nape, and then pushes it to the *header* on his right hand: the latter takes it in his left hand, and with the right, draws out the liver which he throws through a hole into a cask under the table; next, the guts, which he throws through the *trunk-hole* in the floor of the stage into the sea: then fixing the neck of the fish to the edge of the table, which before him is semi-circular and sharp, he presses upon the neck with his left hand to which a thick piece of leather, called the *palm*, is fastened for that purpose, and, with the right, gives the body of the fish which is uppermost a violent jerk which pushes it to the splitter opposite to him, while the head thus separated falls through an opening into the water. This operation requires such violent exertion that, besides the precaution of the palm with which his left hand is armed, the seat on which he is sitting has a strong back, which assists in collecting all his strength for the effort necessary to separate the head from the body of the fish.

The splitter then taking the fish with his left hand, cuts it with the right, beginning at the nape down by the sound-bone to the navel; and giving the knife a little turn to keep it as close to the bone as possible, he continues cutting to the end of the tail; then raising the bone with the knife, he pushes the fish so split into the drudge-barrow, and the sound-bone into the sea through an opening close to him in the stage-floor. When the barrow is full, it is immediately carried to the salter, and another is put in its place. . . .

At the opposite end of the stage stands the *salter*, who, as soon as the drudge-barrow is brought to him, takes out the fish, one by one, and placing it in layers on one side of the stage, spreads on each with his hand some salt, taking particular care to apportion its quantity to the size of the fish and the degree of thickness of its several parts; this operation, which is continued until the *bulk* is of a proper size, requires particular attention, as, if the bulk is too high, the pressure of the upper layers will necessarily injure the fish in the lower layers. . . .

In some parts of Newfoundland the operation of salting is performed in vats or deep oblong square troughs, with a spigot and fauset near the bottom to draw off the foul

¹A *History of the Island of Newfoundland*, p. 429ff.

pickle. The fish is carefully spread in layers to the top until the vat is filled, increasing the quantity of salt in proportion as the layers first placed have the benefit of the pickle descending from the upper layers. This mode of salting, which is said to have been introduced into the Newfoundland fishery at the time of the American war, when salt was uncommonly scarce, prevents . . . the pressure which weighs upon and tends to flatten the fish in the other mode of salting in bulk; the fish retains its full size, actually gains seven or eight quintals in weight, upon every hundred, more than what is salted in bulk, and a saving is made of near three upon every ten hog-heads of salt; but it was acknowledged that it will not so well stand the market, as when salted in the usual way.

The fish must remain four days in vats, and five or six days in bulk, before it has sufficiently taken the salt; and after that period, the sooner it is washed the better. For this purpose, it is put into washing-vats, or wooden vessels, generally seven or eight feet long, three feet and a half wide, and three deep. They first throw in two or three quintals, over which they pour a quantity of sea-water; gradually increasing the quantity of both until the vat is full. They then take up each fish separately, cleaning carefully back and belly with a woolen cloth, and next lay it in a long even bulk on the stage floor to drain. They resume the same process until they have washed such a quantity of fish as they can manage the next day. It may remain in drain-bulk no more than two days; if kept beyond that time, it will decay in weight, nor will it stand the weather so well, on account of the salt getting out of it.

The next day, or as soon after as the weather permits, the fish is spread out on boughs in the open air to dry, head to tail, the open side being exposed to the sun. This is done either upon a beach, or upon the ground which is called *laying-room*; but more generally upon standing flakes. These last are of two sorts, namely, hand and broad flakes. The former consist of a slight wattle, supported by posts, at such an elevation from the ground that a person standing can conveniently manage and turn the fish. The broad flakes consist of a set of beams, supported by posts and shores, or stout pieces of timber standing perpendicularly under the beams, to which similar pieces are likewise fixed in a reclined position. In some places these broad flakes are as high as twenty or thirty feet from the ground. It is said that a free circulation of air is of considerable service to the fish while drying; hence, high flakes are preferable to low ones, or to beaches where, besides the want of circulation of air, the back of the fish is liable to be burnt, if spread after the sun has heated the stones. . . .

Towards the evening of the first day, two or three fishes are placed one over the other with their back upwards, to prevent the open side from being injured by wet or damp. The next morning the fish is again spread as before, and towards evening made into faggots, of five or six, proceeding in the same manner so as to increase the faggots to eight or ten on the third evening, and on the fourth to eighteen or twenty, always with the back upwards, and some larger ones on the top in a slanting position, so as to shoot off the rain or wet that may happen to fall during the night. The fifth evening the faggots are much larger; the fish is then considered as safe, and left in that state for a week, or even a fortnight if there is a want of flake-room for the whole voyage, or the weather happens to be bad. It is next spread out again until about three or four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, when it is put up into large circular piles, in the form of a round hay-stack, with the heads outermost, the backs upwards, and the whole covered with circular deal frames, or with mats, tarpaulins, or rinds confined by large stones, in order to preserve it from the heavy dews which fall during the heat of the summer. It is left some time in that state, then again spread out, and the same day, towards the evening, lodged in stores or put on board the vessels.

The Shore fishery, as described by Anspach, constituted the major activity of the resident population of Newfoundland, as well as a large part of the summer fishing population. The whole venture was financed by the merchants, dominated in earlier days by the great English and a few Jersey and Scottish 'Houses' with their resident agents in the principal settlements, and 'rooms'

(wharves, stores, etc.) staffed by clerks, coopers, carpenters, and blacksmiths, who provided a slight leavening in a predominantly fishing population.

Second in the economic hierarchy of the fishery were the 'planters,' the owners of the fishing-rooms and (fishing) gear, and the 'employers,' either directly or on 'shares,' of the third class, the fishermen. Those among the latter who were not residents were young men shipped in England or Ireland by the merchants, and brought out—usually for two summers and one winter. In accordance with Newfoundland practice they were known by special sobriquets: "These young men, when they arrive, as are all strangers when they first land, are called youngsters. When they have spent one summer and one winter, they receive the title of *white nose*; but when their full time of service is expired, they receive the honorable appellation of *oldsters*."¹ A passage from the historian Prowse recalls the last days of this traditional visitation:

The late Hon. Stephen Rendell has often told me that even when he came to the Colony in 1834, hundreds of sturdy Devonshire lads came out every spring to Rowell's, Boden's, Bulley's, Mudge's, Job's,² and many others on the South Side and in Hoyle's Town (Maggotty Cove), and to Torbay, Bay Bulls, Petty Harbour, and so on. All these "youngsters" were shipped for two summers and a winter.

Mr. Rendell said nearly every labouring man about Coffinswell had been a servant in Newfoundland. The regular place for shipping was at Newton Abbott, in the still existing hostelry, "The Dartmouth Inn and Newfoundland Tavern." Here the engagement was "wetted" with cyder, strong beer, and the still more potent Jamaica. There were the same scenes enacted every spring. The coming and the going of the Newfoundland men was an event in Devonshire. The rurals reckoned the time by the old Church of England lectionary: "Jan: the Parson be in Pruverbs, the Newfanlan men will soon be acoming whome."

Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Exmouth, and the "seven strong firms" of Poole, every year sent out their contingent of West Countrymen to fish and work in Newfoundland. Jersey men and Newman's crew, even in our day, all had their passenger vessels sailing spring and autumn.³

From quite early time, Irish 'youngsters' were (next to the West Countrymen) the most prominent among the seasonal fishermen from the British Isles. Once again, Prowse supplies the relevant text:

It was to buy . . . Irish woollens, "Frisers, Bandel-cloths," "stockins," pork, beef, butter, and to engage Irish servants, that the West Countrymen first touched at Waterford and Cork on their way out to Newfoundland, and thus commenced the Irish Newfoundland trade in "youngsters" and provisions.

The first Irishmen in the Colony were these youngsters, shipped for two summers and a winter; as Baudoin tells us, they were servants to the English, who treated them ill. During the troubled times of 1690, the period of the wars in Ireland and the battle of the Boyne, the peasants were only too glad to flee from the country, so the bye-boat keepers took them out in the West Country vessels in still larger numbers. By this time it had become an established practice for the Devonshire vessels to call at Waterford, Cork, and other harbours on the south coast of Ireland, principally Waterford, to take in a supply of provisions, manufactures, and youngsters.

¹Wilson, W., *Newfoundland and Its Missionaries*, p. 207.

²These are all famous Newfoundland mercantile houses. Their history provides a rich field still to be worked. See C. R. Fay, *Life and Labour in Newfoundland*; R. B. Job, *John Job's Family: A story of his ancestors and successors and their business connections with Newfoundland and Liverpool, 1730 to 1953*; and, most recently, D. Keir, *The Bowring Story*. For an example of what local business records can reveal to skilled analysis, see N. C. Crewe, *A Slade Monograph*.

³Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, p. 297-98.

Gradually these brave Irish boys amalgamated with the English settlers, married the planters' daughters, and became an important part of the resident population; compared however with the English, their numbers at first were small. The large Irish population now resident about St. John's and the southern portion of the Island is chiefly the result of the emigration to this country which took place at the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century.¹

The proportion of permanent inhabitants among the fishing population increased rapidly as the nineteenth century advanced. Even during the eighteenth century a varied winter population existed, comprising (in the categories of a contemporary document)² Masters, men who do not engage as Servants during the fishing season; Men Servants, men who do engage as Servants in the fishing season; Mistresses, wives of Masters and women who have houses and employ Servants; Women Servants, women not of the foregoing description; Children, all boys and girls under 15 years of age; and Dieters, men who remain on the Island during the winter (living upon their summer wages) without engaging as winter Servants.

In all the settlements, the season of greatest activity began in May. In 1866, a Methodist missionary, drawing on his memories of forty years past, recalled the scene:

Very early in the month of May [the planter] proceeds to ship both his boat's crew and his shore crew. He generally commands the boat himself, and his title is skipper. . . .

The shore crew are mostly females. The planter's wife is generally skipper of the shore crew. If she has no daughters sufficient for the work, she hires or ships [for the same word is used] what help she may require. In the case of the girls, as well as the men, a written agreement is made which defines the work each person is to perform. This agreement is called the shipping-paper. . . .

The crew shipped, the first thing is to "come in collar," that is, to commence the spring work. It takes its name from part of the mooring of the boat, in the form of a horse-collar, which is passed over the stem of the boat, and holds her without an anchor. On coming in collar, the boat's crew go rinding. The warm sun in the month of May causes the sap of trees to flow, and forms a large quantity of cambium under the bark, by which it is easily removed from the tree. About the tenth of May, the rinding parties go into the woods and strip the rind or bark from the spruce-trees for about four feet of their height, tie it in bundles, and bring it out on their backs (their only means of transport) to the fishing-room, where it is used for covering the fish when nearly dry, and also for covering their stages and small houses.

Rinding being over, they next rebuild their fishing-stages, and repair their flakes; then go to the merchant's store for their spring supply. For the boat, is wanted canvas, cordage, hooks, lines, and small anchors; for the general purposes of the fishery, salt, nets, lines, twines, knives, pues, provisions, bread, which always means sea-biscuits, flour, pork, butter, tea, and molasses. Thus prepared, the fishery commences about the middle of May. The first bait used is herring. These are taken in herring-nets; but the cod has not yet struck in for the shore, and it is therefore only taken in small quantities. About the first of June, the caplin strikes in, and then is the Newfoundland harvest. This small fish, about the size of a smelt, comes to the shore to spawn, followed by the larger fish in the most inconceivable shoals. This is called the "caplin scull." The caplin is sometimes taken by hand with a dip net; at other times, it is hauled in a caplin seine. A certain number of men are appointed in each

¹*Ibid.*, p. 201. P. K. Devine, *Ye Olde St. John's*, p. 47, has the following note: "More than half of the Irish emigrants who came here in such large numbers from 1840 to 1850 were brought out in J. & R. Kent's vessels, so that the population of St. John's nearly doubled in their decade." Kent's vessels sailed between St. John's and Waterford and Cork.

²*Report of Select Committee on the Newfoundland Trade*, Appendix N2(b).

place, to attend the seine, and supply the boats with bait. The toil of the fisherman is now incessant, so that he is scarcely out of the boat for the whole week. . . . The caplin scull lasts for six weeks, and is followed by the squid-scuttle. The squid comes upon the coast in the middle of August, and continues until the middle of September. . . . With the departure of the squid, the fishery begins to lay; but another small fish, called the lance, supplies bait for a short time longer. . . .

In the month of August, the merchant's large boat, or galloper, goes to the planter's fishing-room, to select the first "dry fish." A culler usually goes in the boat, to select the merchantable fish. The culler makes three qualities of fish—merchantable, madeira, and West Indian. The merchantable goes up the Mediterranean to Roman Catholic countries; Halifax and the United States are markets for the Madeira, and the inferior fish find sale in the West India Islands.

The fishery on the north shore ends either on the twentieth or on the last of October, when the voyage being over, those shipped in the spring receive their wages and a clearance. Some of the fishermen are not engaged for wages, but are on shares, and are said to *cut their tails*; which means that they cut a piece from the tail of the fish as soon as it is taken out of the water, by which the man's fish is known from the rest. Of this fish, one-half is his, as wages, and the other half belongs to the planter for the supplies. Such a person is said to "have half his hand."

All the fish-oil belongs to the planter. The liver of the fish . . . is dropped through a hole in the splitting-table, into the gully or barrel beneath; when the gully is full of liver it is emptied into a vat or hogshead outside, and exposed to the weather; the heat of the sun melts the liver, and it becomes oil. The rain helps to purify the oil, which in the autumn is drawn off into barrels, and at once is fit for exportation. . . .

About the last week in October is the time for the planter to settle his yearly account with the merchant, and get his winter supplies. The winter supplies are similar to the spring supplies, minus the articles requisite for the fishery. If the fishery has been good, or the planter independent, the winter supplies are always ample, the family live well; but if the fishery is poor, or the planter dependent upon the merchant, his winter stock of provision and clothing is very scant, and often, after the exhausting toil of the summer, on his part, and the almost superhuman labor of his wife, his family have to eke out an existence, during a long winter, upon fish and potatoes; and even these articles of food fail before the arrival of spring.¹

This almost complete dependence upon the fishery was a cause of remark among nearly all visitors to the Island. Agriculture was rudimentary, except in a few favoured areas. At most, the planters' houses and fishermen's huts would have a small garden, chiefly of potatoes (cultivated in the Irish manner), with a few currants and gooseberries. The gardening was 'women's work.' A few people might keep a cow, but goats' milk was commonly used. Horses were scarcely known on the Island until the nineteenth century.

As recently as 1933, sober Royal Commissioners² could describe the organization of the fisheries as 'largely feudal.'

The merchants or exporters who established themselves in St. John's and other centres employed a number of fishermen to catch fish for them. These fishermen did not receive wages but were provided by the merchants, in return for their services during the fishing season, with sufficient foodstuffs and other necessities to maintain themselves and their families in tolerable comfort throughout the year. . . . It was the practice of each merchant to support his own fishermen in bad times as well as good. Money did not change hands; indeed, it could have been said with truth only a few years ago that there were families in Newfoundland who had never seen money in their lives. Under this system, very similar to the old truck system in England, large fortunes were made by the merchants; the fishermen though saved from the danger of destitution, were little more than serfs with no hope of becoming independent.

¹Wilson, *Newfoundland and Its Missionaries*, p. 207ff.

²*Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report*, p. 79-80.

Vicious as was this system, it was not nearly so destructive as that which developed from it. As the population increased, the old feudal practices were gradually modified. The obligation to support the fishermen in bad times, the only virtue of the former system, became the duty not of the merchants but of the State. It was obvious that the fishermen could not conduct the fishery from their own resources, and the custom grew up under which each fisherman went to a merchant in the spring and obtained from him, on credit, supplies of equipment and food to enable him and his family to live, not for the whole year, but during the three or four months of the fishing season. At the end of the season, the fisherman returned to the merchant with his catch of fish, dried and cured, to set off against his account. The price of fish was fixed by the merchants, as also was the price of the provisions, etc., supplied to the fisherman and his family in the spring. . . . In good years a balance was left to the fisherman, after deduction of the debt due to the merchant; this balance was paid to him in cash. In bad years the value of the fish tendered to the merchant was not sufficient to pay for the supplies and the fisherman therefore remained in debt to the merchant.

In the older communities of Avalon, the truck system did not seem to fall so harshly as it did elsewhere. After describing the miserable condition of the people of Trinity Bay in 1793, Chief Justice Reeves observed: "But it is very different in Conception Bay, and at St. John's, where the population is larger and there is less Dependence and Connection between Merchants, Boatkeepers, and Servants."¹ In this, the oldest settled part of the Island, a rudimentary civil society was slowly taking shape, accompanied by a diversification of the economy, including the fishery. But in very general terms, the traditional organization of the Shore fishery underwent no profound modifications until well into the present century. The invention of the cod-trap toward the end of the nineteenth century, noteworthy (as it was) as a technical innovation, had less effect in social terms than the rise of the fresh-fish industry in the late 1940's, which drastically altered the pattern of 'making' fish and removed, at any rate from the women-folk, a crushing burden of labour. The introduction of bait-depots, motor-powered fishing-craft, and new types of fishing-gear has, in our own time, given the inshore fishermen greater mobility, efficiency, and productivity. And the introduction (at Confederation in 1949) of comprehensive social security and other forms of aid has provided a minimum standard of living which, in harsher earlier days, might almost have been called affluence.

Yet one wonders whether the bleak picture even of eighteenth century Newfoundland life has not been overdrawn. One notices that even the clerical visitors after an almost statutory denunciation of the evils caused by the (certainly remarkable) consumption of rum, mellow considerably when recalling the rhythm and texture of life on the Island. They become almost genial in the nineteenth century. The evidence of Archdeacon Wix, so often cited to the contrary, may be set, very largely, aside: his well-known journal² deals chiefly with his experiences in what was, even in his own day, a 'frontier' area of Newfoundland. Besides, by exhibiting "a colony where the state of society equals, if it do not exceed in ignorance, superstition, and insubordination, the worst parts of Ireland," he was hoping to arouse the devout to the menace of Popery on the Island. A Non-Conformist clergyman provides a salutary corrective; even his winter scenes, the slack season, resound with the cheerful and

¹*Report of Select Committee on the Newfoundland Trade*, p. 170.

²*Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal in 1835*.

busy sounds of the settlers, clad in 'cuffs' and 'buskins,' hauling wood on 'catamarans,' and furnishing the larder with game; mending nets and furbishing fishing-gear. If in the poorer and more isolated coves the houses were humble 'tilts,' in the older communities of Avalon they were frequently quite substantial.

The houses in the out-harbor were all built of wood; the better sort were neatly shingled; the common houses, or tilts, were covered with boards, or spruce rinds. On entering the house, on the one hand was a neat parlour, and on the other a kitchen with a very large fireplace called the "chimney-corner." A neat carpet would cover the parlour, but the kitchen-floor would be covered with a blue sand taken from the sea-shore, and prettily drawn into diagonal lines, with a broom, by the skill of the industrious housewife. One or two sleeping-rooms would be found on the ground floor; but the dormitories for the family would generally be upstairs.¹ The furniture was plain, and the beds always clean and comfortable. The merchants' houses were good buildings, well finished and well furnished.

Cooking-stoves were then [c. 1820] unknown. The fire was made upon the hearth, and the wood supported by dog-irons. If the first required a second tier of wood, it was supported upon the lower tier, by small sticks called triggers, which were placed crossways. A large stick was placed against the back, a smaller one in front, and a lesser one still in the middle. The wood was sometimes quite green, and hence making a fire was quite an art, and required back-junks, fore-junks, middle-junks, triggers, splits, and brands; and the fishermen would sometimes say whoever can build a good fire with green fir can build a boat.

Across the chimney, some seven or eight feet from the hearth, was a bar of wood or iron, called the pot-bar. On this pot-bar was hung the cotterall and pot-hooks, which sustained the vessels used for culinary purposes. Nobody had an oven, but baking was all done in the bake-pot. The food would not always satisfy the appetite of the epicure, but it was generally substantial and good. In the winter we would get fresh beef, but in the summer season, salt meat was generally used. Bread, that is, sea biscuit, was always on the table, and soft bread, or the raised loaf, was used when the mistress had time to bake it. Fish, cooked in some way, was used at almost every meal, but the toasted fish was truly delicious. Spruce beer was in every house, and was freely used by the people. The absence of scurvy in the country may perhaps, in part be attributed to the free use of the black-spruce beer. . . .

A wedding in an out-harbor was quite an affair. Neither a license nor the publication of banns was required for performance of marriage; and frequently the minister knew nothing about it, until the party arrived at the mission-house. The ceremony was usually performed in the church; the flag would be hoisted, at which signal almost the whole community would assemble to see the "couple made happy." As soon as the party came out of the church, a number of guns would be fired over the heads of the bride and bridegroom, and also over the head of the parson, as a salute, which would be occasionally repeated until he reached the house. Here the invitation would be given to dinner, which would sometimes be so general as to include all hands. At dinner there were great profusion and drinking, as was then the custom; but rioting and disturbance of the public peace were not known. It was not the habit of Newfoundlanders to insult or annoy any person; much less would they do so in the presence of their minister.

Funerals were always attended by large bodies of people; and particularly was this the case if the deceased were an aged person, or much respected in the community. Spirits and sweetcake were given at the house. The corpse was always taken into the church, where two lessons and the whole funeral service were read, and the entire matter made as ceremonious and as imposing as possible. A funeral sermon must always be preached; and however the person might have lived and died, it was expected the preacher would preach him into heaven. . . .

¹ Jukes, J. B., *Excursions in Newfoundland*, vol. I, p. 20, was horrified in Pouch Cove at having to share a bedroom with his hostess and her daughter, an experience for which the celibate chambers of St. John's College, Cambridge, had not prepared him. But the women were very modest, entering the room after he was asleep and leaving before he awoke.

The adult population in the out-harbors had not in their youth the educational advantages which are experienced by children in the present day. They had come from the rural populations of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the Channel Islands; and, while those countries were then, as now, the land of light and knowledge to the wealthy, yet they presented but few opportunities for the poor to acquire even the commonest branches of education. It were folly to expect anything else than that those uneducated British emigrants would bring with them their national peculiarities, and their provincial dialects, which nothing but education could remove. But it was questionable, after all, whether their ignorance was more palpable than was the ignorance of the peasantry in the districts from whence they emigrated; and certain it is, the pronunciation of the English language by the fishermen is no way inferior to the pronunciation as heard in many country places in their father-land.¹

Such was the life in the communities of Avalon during the period of transition to a predominantly resident fishery. For the settlers, it was a painful period because the inexorable fact of settlement still did not receive the official recognition which would have led to the systematic development of regular forms of civil government and social organization. There were no schools, except an occasional 'Sabbath' school; the churches were still in the 'missionary' stage of their development; justices of the peace and constables had only recently replaced the primitive rule of the fishing admiral. But the people were there. In 1807, a survey of possessions held in Conception Bay showed a considerable permanent population in firm ownership of land and property, in many cases handed down to them from their forebears.² Large numbers of immigrants were both the cause and the result of sweeping economic changes.

The Rise of the Seal and Labrador Fisheries

Not for the last time in Newfoundland's history was the Island's economic prosperity assured by international conflict. The period of war which ended in 1815 was the turning point in the long struggle against the English policy of retarded colonization. The wars at once created a demand for the Newfoundland catch of cod (by hampering the competing fisheries of France and New England). This led to the increased independence of the resident fishery in a partial shift of the supplying centres from Britain to the Maritime Provinces of Canada and the Island itself, and thus, in turn, ended the predominance of the great English ship-fishery—the protection of which had been a prime reason for the anti-settlement policy. As Chief Justice Reeves stated:

It is in the memory of several persons when the trade at St. John's was in the hands of five or six merchants; these persons brought out sufficient supplies for the people they employed either as servants or boatkeepers to catch fish for freighting their own ships. . . . At present the number of persons who can furnish supplies in the town of St. John's is so increased, that all monopoly is broken, and a very active competition is come in its place. All the consequences of competition have followed; the prices of supplies are lowered and boatkeepers less dependent, having more persons to take their fish and supply them with necessaries; hence the murmur of the western

¹Wilson, *Newfoundland and Its Missionaries*, p. 352ff. A fellow-clergyman of about the same period went further: "Taking the natives generally, I have perceived from personal observation that they are superior in manners and speech to the peasantry of many of the country villages of England," cited by Tocque, *Newfoundland As It Is and As It Was*, p. 83.

²*Colonial Office Miscellany*, 199, 18. The survey, with its list of property-owning inhabitants, is a primary source of great value for the study of the Avalon communities. It is printed in full as Appendix II, 'Return of possessions held in the Concepcion Bay.'

merchants against hucksters and adventurers, and hence the notion that the trade is ruined. It is true that some of the persons who sell supplies at St. John's do not carry on the fishery, but they sell their supplies to those who do; the produce of the fishery is still the object of the trade; fish and oil are still the staple commodities, and I do not see but that persons who make it their object to deal in these articles, must be reckoned among the encouragers of the fishery, although they do not themselves engage in keeping boats or ships. . . . As to this mode of carrying on the trade, whatever the West Countrymen may say against those who practice it, they certainly introduced it themselves. It is well known at Newfoundland that the most profitable way of carrying on the fishery is by supplying boat-keepers and taking in payment for the supplies the fish and oil they catch. It was this induced the Western merchants, as well as those of Poole, to encourage the settlement of persons there many years ago; as these increased, the necessity of bringing men from England must diminish. The merchants found it to their interest to promote the former, and it was in vain to depend upon regulations to force them to another course. Residency and population have increased, because it is generally held the cheapest and most profitable way of carrying on the fishery by residents; when this was known, it was easily seen that any man who could land at Newfoundland with a cargo of supplies was as fitted for carrying on the fishery as a regular bred fisherman; from this observation arose the number of adventurers who have of late years come into trade, and who are so much censured by the Western merchants for following the example they had set. These newcomers have mostly resorted to St. John's and to Conception Bay.¹

Rapidly increasing immigration provided the labour for the expansion of the resident fishery.² And as the Shore-fishery grew in relative importance there was a sharp decline in the English participation in the bank fishery. Bay Bulls, Cape Broyle, Ferryland, Capelin Bay [Calvert], Renew's, Fermeuse, and Trepassy, which together formerly supported more than 200 bankers, had almost none in 1807. The same period which saw the decline of the British ship-fishery, saw the beginning of two great new ship-fisheries, this time prosecuted from Newfoundland and made possible by the rapid development of the main Avalon settlements as supplying centres.

The first was the seal-fishery or, as it is variously called, the seal-hunt.³ In its early days, the fishery was prosecuted from the shore, both with nets and boats. There is an account of this phase of the fishery by a Newfoundland settler, J. Bland, in a letter to Governor Gambier in 1802, worth quoting since the taking of seals by landmen is still⁴ far from negligible.

This adventurous and perilous pursuit is prosecuted in two different ways—during the winter months by nets, and from March to June in ice-skiffs. . . . The fishery by nets extends from Conception Bay to the Labrador, and in the northern posts there is most certainty of success. About fifty pounds weight of strong twine will be required to make a net, the half worn small hawsers, which the boats have used in the summer fishery, serve for foot ropes; new ratline is necessary for head ropes, and each net is required to be about forty fathoms in length, and nearly three in depth. . . .

¹(Third) Report of Select Committee on the Newfoundland Trade, p. 167-69.

²The changing pattern of the fishery is traced in detail by H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fishery*; see especially Chapter X.

³There is a short survey, both ecological and biological, by C. W. Andrews, "The Hazardous Industry of North Atlantic Sealing," *Bulletin of the New York Zoological Society*, vol. LIV (June 1951), No. 3. Chafe's *Sealing Book* is a prime statistical source.

⁴"The M. V. Catalina Trader has just arrived in St. John's following a trip along the northeast coast where she collected seal pelts from landmen who took the seals last sealing season. The Trader entered port with 6,000 pelts aboard. On her first voyage north she collected about 5,000 seals. The Trader will make a third trip to the northern areas to collect more landmen's seals. The seal pelts will be processed for oil in St. John's and the pelts will then be sent to Bowring's firm in London, England, where they will be made into leather or fur products." *Evening Telegram*, 30 May, 1962.

Four or five men constitute a crew to attend about twenty nets, but in brisk sealing this number of nets will require a double crew in separate boats. The seals bolt into the nets while ranging in the bottom in quest of food, which makes it necessary to keep the nets to the ground, where they are made to stand on their legs, as the phrase is, by means of cork fastened at equal distances along the head ropes. The net is extended at the bottom by a mooring and a killock fixed to each end, and it is frequently placed in forty fathoms water, for we observe that the largest seals are caught in the deepest water. To each end of the head-rope is fixed a line with a pole standing erect in the water to guide the sealers to the net, and when these poles are torn away by ice, or other accident, they are directed by landmarks and find their nets with creepers. The seals, in their efforts to get free, cable the nets at the bottom, and none but experienced sealers can disengage them without cutting the net. . . . On the Labrador coast the seal fishery begins in November and ends about Christmas, when the nets are taken up. With us, it begins about Christmas and continues through the winter, the ice in this quarter being seldom stationary for any considerable length of time.

Should strong east and northeast winds prevail through the months of December and January, the seals towards the end of the latter month never fail to appear in large companies, always going before the wind and ice till they find themselves inbayed. The seals upon this coast are of many species; they are classed and distinguished by names to be found in the Newfoundland nomenclature, and only understood by the Newfoundland naturalists. *Tars*, *Doaters*, *Gun-swails*, and many others, breed upon the rocks in the summer season, and may be called natives, but these make but little part of our fishery; our dependence rests wholly upon *Harps* and *Bedlemers*, which are driven by winds and ice from the north-east seas. The harp in its prime will yield from ten to sixteen gallons of oil, and the bedlemer, a seal of the same species, only younger, from three to seven. About the middle of March the female harp whelps upon ice, and, in the course of a few days, becomes reduced to less than half of her largest bulk. The male, also, from this period reduces, but not in the same proportion. There is, therefore, an evident advantage in catching the seals in the winter. . . .

The sealing-adventure by large boats, which sail about the middle of March, has not been general longer than nine years. It has been pursued with various success, and unquestionably has a tendency to promote the first invention of government beyond any other. From two to three thousand men have been employed in this perilous adventure, and it may excite surprise that so few fatal accidents have happened. . . . Out of the harbour of Saint John's this adventure has been followed with uncommon spirit.¹

The development of the seal fishery in larger craft was rapid, especially on the Avalon Peninsula. Schooners would be fitted out, provisioned, and supplied in full either by their owners, or by merchants hiring them. The crew of from ten to thirty men, depending on the size of the vessel, would apply for a berth, the price of which varied from ten shillings to four pounds until, in 1902, 'berth money' was abolished as a result of a sealers' strike. Anspach has an account of the early days of this phase of the hunt;² J. B. Jukes was one of the first of a long line of visitors to the Island who made the trip to the ice and wrote memorably of his experiences;³ but it is to the observant eye of the Rev. William Wilson that we owe our most searching insight into the role of the great adventure in the lives of the communities of Avalon in the first half of the nineteenth century:

The monotony of a Newfoundland winter is broken during the Christmas holidays, when the young men on the North Shore go up the bay to secure a berth to the ice; which having been effected they return to finish their winter's work.

¹Printed by D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, Appendix IV, p. 419-20.

²*A History of the Island of Newfoundland*, p. 421-28.

³*Excursions in Newfoundland*, Vol. I, Chapter VIII.

Early in February, the women prepare the requisite supply of clothing for their husbands and sons, particularly their coarse jackets, with cuffs and buskins. About the last week of February each man goes to his doctor (for they pay the doctor by the year, whether they want his services or not), for a little medicine for the voyage. And a little it is, consisting mostly of a little salve, in case of a cut, a little friar's balsam in case of a sprain, and, above all, a phial containing a solution of the sulphate of zinc, in case of iceblindness. They are now ready to take their departure. But, on all the Wesleyan stations, it is customary to have a special sermon preached, and a special prayer-meeting held, for and on behalf of those about to be engaged in the perilous seal-fishery. On the part of our young men who profess religion, this is of great importance, to prepare, or rather to fortify, their minds against the temptations to which they are soon to be exposed. The swearing, Sabbath-breaking, drinking, and general profanity in the sealing-vessels are truly fearful. They have sometimes been called floating hells. True, there are noble exceptions, and particularly in those vessels which sail from Conception Bay. . . .

The Sabbath being over, the sealers prepare for departure. The men themselves do not call the animal they now go to seek, a seal, but a swale or a soil, and the occupation, swaling or soiling. About the last of February, hundreds of ice-hunters might be seen toiling up the sculping highlands, with their gaffs, and long swaling guns on their shoulders, and bearing packs on their backs, in order to join their respective vessels on the first of March, when every man was expected to be in collar for the ice.

A few days is sufficient to fit out the vessel, which is full timbered, with false beams, to resist a side pressure from the ice; and the plank at her bows sheathed with wood and plated with iron to bear the friction, as she presses forward. When ready for sea, the men are divided into groups, to cut their vessel out of harbor. At this time, the ice in the harbors of St. John's, Harbor Grace, Trinity, and other places, presents a lively appearance, as hundreds of men, with their loud hurrah, and their junction song, "Ho, heave ho," work their pit-saws and wield their hatchets, to cut the ice, and then with their gaffs and their hand-spikes, push it into open water; while the vessels in long line are slowly dragged down the newly made channel, to be ready to spread their snowy sails to the first fair breeze that can waft them toward their destination in the north.

In the time of which we are writing, but few of the masters or skippers of ice hunters knew anything of navigation; although they were excellent seamen, yet sometimes they found it difficult, after being out of sight of land for weeks to regain their own shore.

Their method for calculating for their return was carefully to note the point of their departure, and the direction in which the ice drifted. When practicable, they took their departure from Bacalieu, which is an island in the drift of Conception and Trinity Bays, from which island they steered north-east for the ice; and as the northern ice usually drifts to the south-east, in returning they were accustomed to steer north-west for the place of their departure. Hence it became a proverb: "Wherever you are, steer north-west for Bacalieu."

In the second or third week in March, the white coats are in their prime, and the barking of the dams and the weaker cry of their young unmistakably point out the direction the hunter must go, to find the object of his pursuit. His implements are a sealing-gaff, a hunting-rope, and a knife. The gaff is a bat of wood, about seven feet long, with a hook in one end. This is the instrument with which the seal is killed; it is struck on the nose, and one blow will kill a young seal. The knife is to take off the pelt, and the rope is to haul the load to the vessel. By the word pelt is meant the skin and the fat; for the fat of the seal adheres to the skin, as does fat to the back of the hog: when, therefore, it is said such a vessel brought home so many seals, the reader must understand, those were only seals' pelts, for the carcass, which scarcely contains a particle of fat, is left upon the ice. . . .

When the seals are found, they are not always close to the vessel, but have to be brought a distance of some miles, when hauling a turn of soils over the big hummocks, or ice-hillocks, makes the labor exceedingly toilsome. Sometimes chasms occur, over which the men must leap, or move pans of ice with their gaffs so as to form a bridge; sometimes slob, or small loose ice covered with snow, intervenes between the larger ice, on which, if the hunter should chance to step, he must be extricated by the gaff of

his friend, or he is engulfed and perishes in the water; not unfrequently, when a distance from the vessel, a dense fog arises, or a snow-storm comes on, when the hunter is speedily lost, horns are blown, and guns are fired, but they are inaudible by the roaring of the wind, and the pitiless pelting of the storm. Lights are shown at night, but they are invisible in the snow-drift; deep anxiety is felt by the crew for their missing shipmate, and every exertion is made to find him: but the vessel has drifted far away, or he has wandered in an opposite direction, or fallen through the ice; or overcome with fatigue, cold, or hunger, he lies down, and is frozen to death. Seldom does a sealing-voyage terminate without some such calamity, or the month of May arrive without the bitter intelligence being conveyed to some expectant family, that the wife is a widow, and the children orphans. . . .

Early in April, the sealers think of returning home, and reach there about the middle of the month. If they have been unsuccessful, or any calamity has happened, they enter the harbor as silently as possible; but if they have had a prosperous voyage, the flags fly at the masts, and a gun is fired for every hundred seals that has been taken on board.

Formerly, when the vessel arrived, the pelts would be counted, and sold so much for each, according to its size; but some of the hunters were guilty of fraud, by leaving a portion of fat on the carcass, that the load might be lighter to haul. The seals are therefore now all purchased by weight. . . . When the seal-pelts are landed, the skimmers scrape the fat from the skin, and put it into large vats, where the heat of the sun during the earlier months of summer melts it, and it becomes the pale seal-oil, which is drawn off in casks, and mostly exported to Europe. The skins are slightly salted, and exported to the same countries.¹

The results of the voyage were usually divided into halves, one of which was shared among the men, and the other was divided between the captain and the merchant in different proportions, according to their agreement or their various shares in the risk of the speculative venture.² In Anspach's day, when two voyages per spring were common, each trip would average from nine to twelve pounds sterling per man.³ The precise arrangements and rates varied a good deal from time to time and from one ship to another. For example, in 1866, Captain Edward White Sr., one of the most successful of the Newfoundland 'jowlers,' made a special arrangement with Job Brothers of St. John's whereby he would receive "ninepence per Seal for all good seals, old and young included, or sevenpence for good young Harps and Hoods and one shilling and threepence for all old Seals."⁴

Great fortunes were made (and lost) in the Newfoundland seal fishery. Its contribution to the economy of the Island was considerable. It broke the long winter period of inactivity, and it was one of the few modes of employment which actually placed cash in the hands of a people normally paid 'in kind.' The following tables will illustrate the progressive rise of the fishery during the first half of the nineteenth century.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Catch</i>
1775.....	4,900
1814.....	156,000
1820.....	221,334
1830.....	300,681
1835.....	557,490
1840.....	631,385
1847.....	455,180

¹*Newfoundland and Its Missionaries*, p. 277-85.
²Jukes, *Excursions*, Vol. I, p. 259.
³*History*, p. 423. Newfoundland sealers on the 'Front' in 1962 averaged \$500 per man.
⁴MS. in the possession of G. M. Story.

The participation in the seal fishery of the communities of Avalon, particularly St. John's and Conception Bay settlements, is suggested by the following table for 1844.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Ships</i>	<i>Men</i>
St. John's.....	121	3,775
Harbour Grace.....	48	1,377
Carbonear.....	52	1,469
Brigus-Cupids.....	43	1,385
Port de Grave.....	10	279
Bay Roberts.....	11	302
Spaniard's Bay.....	9	253

In the same year, 64 ships and 1,687 men sailed to the ice from all other ports in Newfoundland: ample evidence of the dominant position held by the Avalon communities.

The mid-century years were the great ones for the Newfoundland seal hunt, with the boisterous sealers thronging the streets of St. John's, Brigus, Harbour Grace, and other ports as they joined their vessels. Normally, they sailed from the central port of their districts; but it was not unknown for sealers to travel from their villages to 'sign on' with celebrated captains—the Blandfords, the Dawes, the Whites, Jackmans, and Keans. The isolation of the people of the fishing settlements was briefly broken. Edmund Gosse has a vivid account of the Carbonear scene as recorded by his father, Philip Henry Gosse, a clerk with the Poole firm of Slade:

The preparation of the seal-fleet for starting was the busiest time of the year to him, the North Shore, and particularly Carbonear, being, from the 1st to the 17th of March, all alive with a very active, noisy, rude, and exacting population. During this fortnight, life was a purgatory for the clerks, who were besieged from morning till night by these vociferous and fragrant fellows. By St. Patrick's Day, however, it was a point of honour for all the sealers to have sailed, and thence, until the middle of April, when the more fortunate schooners began to return, the counting-house kept a sort of holiday. Then, once more, a press of work set in. The seal-pelts brought home were delivered in tale, all the accounts incurred had to be paid them. This had to be done partly in cash—the Spanish dollar of four shillings and twopence sterling passing for five shillings—and partly in goods, which involved more "notes." The planters' accounts, too, had to be squared, and the profit or loss on the voyage of each determined. . . .

In the coves round about, and especially along the "North Shore"—that is, the coast of Conception Bay which stretched from Carbonear to Point Baccalao, an iron-bound, precipitous shore, much indented with small inlets, but containing no harbours for ships—along this North Shore, there resided a hardy population, mainly English and Protestant, who possessed no schooners, but held small sailing-boats, with which, mostly by families, they pursued the cod-fishery in the bay. . . . Many of the North Shore men were tall, well-made, handsome fellows, singularly simple and guileless, with a marked aversion and dread of the Irish population of the harbours, to whom their peculiarities of idiom and manners afforded objects of current ribaldry. In the spring, as they had no resources at home, these mild giants shipped with the planters for the ice, and during the noisy first fortnight of March, when the crews "came in collar," as their arrival was called, the port was resounding every night with shouts and cries and responses, bandied from vessel to vessel, nicknames, ribald jokes, and opprobrious epithets showered on the inoffensive heads of the poor meek men from the North Shore. Their dialect was peculiar. It sounded particularly strange in the ears of the Irish, although it was really equally diverse

from that of any English peasantry. One of its traits was an inability to pronounce the *th*, which became *t* or *d*. Most of them were Wesleyans, and it was amusing to hear them fervently singing hymns in their odd language:—

“De ting my God dut hate,
Dat I no more may do.”¹

The excitement and interest aroused by the annual seal hunt was only partly a matter of financial investment—though the myriad of associated activities, such as ship-building, sail-making, coopering, oil-processing, made it an important part of the Island's economy. It is a great adventure, and “the interest of every individual to the north of St. John's, from the richest to the poorest, was . . . so interwoven with it, that its prosecution and results, caused more speculation, more anxiety, more excitement and solicitude, than perhaps does any other single branch of business.”²

After the turn of the half-century, the number of vessels and men prosecuting the seal fishery declined.³ One cause was the introduction of large steamships in the 1860's, the famous Wooden Walls,⁴ requiring an investment difficult to recoup in the off-season, for few of the great ships were designed for anything other than the seal fishery and arctic and antarctic voyages. Secondly, the long years of wasteful slaughter and the increasing efficiency in locating the great herds with spotter planes led to a decline in the yield, a decline still not arrested though increasingly serious.

The second great fishery which arose in the nineteenth century was the Labrador fishery, prosecuted from Newfoundland ports. Once again international conflict provided the opportunity for the Island's economic expansion. The difficulties which the war years brought to the French fisheries in the New World opened new grounds to the Newfoundland fishermen, especially northward from Conception Bay to the French Shore. “The number of vessels employed on the north east shore is considerably increased,” stated a contemporary report. “It is scarcely necessary to say that it is attended with less expense and risque than the English ship-fishery. It is also more convenient to the planters as lying within the compass of their limited means and being connected with the seal fishing in the spring of the year, as both are carried on by the same vessels.”⁵ And, the same report continues, “the chief part of this fishery is carried on from Conception Bay where the planters are more independent than in the other districts.” Whole families moved north, the men to fish and the women and children to split and dry the fish. It was the beginning of what Anspach⁶ knew as the ‘northern fishery.’ Much of the catch was cured in the familiar manner at

¹*Life of Philip Henry Gosse*, p. 49–50.

²Wilson, *Newfoundland and Its Missionaries*, p. 276.

³In 1962 only two vessels sailed from Newfoundland, one from St. John's and one from Carbonear, each with about sixty men. The half-dozen vessels operating from Halifax in the Gulf fishery are manned, and commanded, by Newfoundland sealers.

⁴There is an account, based on a contemporary journal, of one of these trips by G. M. Story, “A Voyage to the Ice in 1871,” *The Newfoundland Record* (May 1962), vol. 1, no. 3. Among the many books dealing with this last phase of the fishery are G. A. England's *Vikings of the Ice*, especially interesting for its record of sealers' vocabulary, and W. H. Greene's *The Wooden Walls Among the Ice Floes*. See also numerous articles in *The Book of Newfoundland* (ed. J. R. Smallwood).

⁵*Colonial Office Papers*, p. 194, 45, cited by Innis, *The Cod Fishery*, p. 305.

⁶*History*, p. 443.

the northern stations; sometimes, however, it was simply split, salted, and disposed in layers in vats and then shipped back to the home ports as *green fish*. The procedure then was to moor the vessel alongside the fishing stage, close to

... an oblong square low vessel of boards, so loosely joined at the bottom as to let the sea water run through it. This vessel, called *Ram's horn*, probably a corruption of the French *Rincoir*, is fastened to the wharf's or stage's head. The fish is thrown, one by one, into the Ram's horn, where there are three men standing up to their knees in the water, two of whom rub, shake, and clean the fish with mops; this is afterwards thrown up by the third man on a kind of scaffold, half-way to the top of the wharf or stage, where it is received by other men, and by them thrown on the wharf's or stage's head. Here it is put into wheel or hand barrows, and carried to a covered part of the wharf, or a side of the stage, laid in a long even bulk, and thus left to drain. The following day, if the weather is favourable, the fish is spread on flakes, and the usual process is used until it is completely dried.¹

The re-occupation by the French of the Petit Nord following the Napoleonic wars forced the Newfoundland fishermen (except, of course, the still small resident population of the northeast coast) still farther north, to the Straits of Belle Isle and the Labrador. In the words of a contemporary, "The Labrador fishery... has, since 1814, increased more than sixfold, principally in consequence of our fishermen being driven from the grounds now occupied by the French."²

And now began the great Newfoundland Labrador fishery. For more than a century and a half it was to play an enormous role in the economic and social life of the Avalon communities north of St. John's. The sealing vessels having discharged their catches, "the same schooners, commanded by the same skippers, but with newly selected crews, were fitted out on exactly the same system of credit as before, with the same bustle. By the middle of June, all had sailed for Labrador, where they remained, catching and curing fish, until October, when they brought their produce back."³ It was an annual re-enactment of the old English ship-fishery, only this time Labrador was the 'summer fishing station,' and Newfoundland the base of operation.

There had, of course, been a considerable Labrador fishery before this development took place. American vessels had long been fishing the northern waters (usually with large seines), and in 1806 there was a resident population of 489 manning a number of fishery posts established by such firms as (from England), Noble and Pinson, William Codner and Company, Grange and Nash, John Slade and Company, Dormer and Richards, B. Lester and Company, and Richard Tory; (from Jersey), Robert Berteau, Simon du Bois, Falle and Durrell, L. Kidville, and Emery and Best.⁴ But the appearance of Newfoundlanders in large numbers was a nineteenth century phenomenon.

The Newfoundland Labrador fishery was of two kinds, the 'stationer' fishery, and the 'floater' fishery. The first was prosecuted in small boats from the shore by families attached to fishing establishments; the second was prosecuted by the crews of the Labrador schooners, not always attached to particular shore establishments, catching their fish wherever they could get it and often taking it direct to Newfoundland ports to be cured.

¹Anspach, *History*, p. 444-45.

²Cited by Innis, *The Cod Fishery*, p. 308.

³Gosse, *Life of Philip Henry Gosse*, p. 49.

⁴Gosling, *Labrador*, p. 389.

The stationers, with their household belongings, including dogs and goats, used to transport themselves to the Labrador in sailing vessels, mostly small schooners. It was an immense annual migration. Prowse has an anecdote which recalls the scene:

I have a lively remembrance of one episode in this Labrador emigration. All the first three weeks of November 1868 there was terrible anxiety in Brigus about William John Rabbit's brig, *Hunter*; she was known to be an old vessel, and was much overdue. Everyone had faith in William John, but his coming was long delayed. All day long the distracted relatives strained their eyes for a vision of the *Hunter* coming up the Bay. The vessel was short-handed and full of women and children. By many she was given up for lost; women went about wringing their hands, weeping and wailing and lamenting for the dead. One morning I was awakened by an unusual noise and disturbance in the settlement; it was just daylight. As I peered through the window I saw a bare-headed fellow, with his garments loose about him, mad as an Indian Fakir, rushing through the streets, shouting at the top of his voice, "The *Hunter* is coming! The *Hunter* is coming!"

The shout electrified Brigus; women and men half dressed, wild with intense excitement, rushed out to see her; and in a short time the battered old brig was seen slowly coming round the point; her sails hung about her loose and ragged, her old gear was weather-beaten and dilapidated, her stumpy spars bore only her topsails; but what joy! what intoxication of delight! that clumsy old vessel brought to Brigus on that fine sunny November morning.

With many others I went on board the *Hunter*, and as long as I live I shall never forget the scene—the women and children, goats, pigs, and dogs, crowded in her hold. After seeing and smelling, I believe I can now form an idea of the horrors of the middle passage, and the odours and sufferings of the chained negroes in the slaver's hold.¹

There was scarcely a settlement of Avalon, north of St. John's, which did not participate in this great fishery. "Planters from Conception Bay were amongst the first pioneers; to-day the contingent from Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Brigus, Bay Roberts, Port de Grave, Harbour Main, Holyrood, Bonavista, Twillingate, and Fogo form the bulk of the Newfoundland fishermen on the Labrador coast."² These words, written in 1895, suggest the place of the fishery in the economy and life of the Avalon communities. Legislation against overcrowding of passenger vessels mitigated some of the hardships of the voyage around the turn of the century; no legislation could preserve the fishery itself;³ and the visitor to Conception Bay homes today is reminded of the old days only by the presence, just inside the back door, of a large 'Labrador sea-chest.'⁴

The same visitor will notice in the coves and harbours the mouldering hulls of the once great Labrador 'floater' fleet. This phase of the fishery has recently been described, in a pioneering essay, by W. A. Black:

During the peak of the floater fishery, flotillas of schooners set sail from St. John's, Harbour Grace, Port Union, Catalina, Bonavista, Twillingate and from numerous small ports on the east coast of Newfoundland. On the Labrador coast the schooners congregated at numerous harbors, especially among the islands. It was customary for 30 to 40 schooners to operate from such harbors as Indian Harbour, Batteau, Spotted

¹Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, (1895), p. 603.

²*Ibid.*, p. 602.

³This year about 200 [planters] will go north [to the Labrador fishing stations on the S.S. *Burgeo*], *Evening Telegram*, 26 May 1962.

⁴See Appendix III for a list of Labrador 'stationer' fishing stations and supplying merchants and agents.

Islands, Grady and Packs, to name only a few. The floaters, often from the same home port, were in the habit of visiting the same harbors year after year. This practice made them familiar with the fishing areas. If the fishery was poor, they navigated passages that had been proven safe by previous experience. Generally they occupied the more seaward harbors and rarely entered the bays except to secure firewood. Communications concerning the condition of the fishery were passed by word of mouth from skipper to skipper of passing vessels.

The difficulties of navigating an uncharted coast that abounded with rocks, experienced heavy coastal fogs, and was subject to sudden gales—80 schooners were lost in severe gales that swept the coast between October 12 and 15, 1885—led to the use of certain harbors as focal or rallying points. It was not unusual for 25 schooners to lie in Indian Harbour while within a radius of 5 miles 300 more would be waiting a week or more for fine sailing weather to cross Groswater Bay. . . .

The floater crews "went in collar," or were taken on, from May 1 to 10; a period of 4 to 8 weeks was necessary to outfit the vessel. . . . The vessels set sail for the Labrador coast during the last week of June or the first week of July, the date of departure depending on the weather. About a week later, the vessels anchored in a sheltered harbor and the cod-traps were placed in the water where cod were reported to be running. . . . If the cod-run was exceptionally good a full voyage might be made in 3 to 4 weeks. The floater then returned to his home port in August. The fish might be sold immediately in salt bulk, or the fishermen might decide to 'make' or cure the fish during September and October before selling it. In a year when the run of trapfish was poor, the floater fishermen continued fishing with trawls, handlines, and jiggers until the end of September or October. To make a full voyage with this equipment took considerably longer, so that the cure might not be completed until mid-November. . . .

The codtrap berths were graded choice, prime, seconds, and fly, in that order, according to the run of fish taken from them. The choice berths provided large catches and were fairly dependable from year to year; the fly berths provided poor catches even when the coast experienced a good run of fish. . . . The floater fishermen recognized the coastal area, not so much by names on a map, but by the names of the cod berths. The Newfoundland floaters often called an island by several names, depending on the origin of the floater's crew. When a berth was discovered, it was given a distinctive name, such as "Lady Bight," "Crack in the Wall," "Pot of Gold," "Pidgeon Gulch," "Golden Slipper," and so on. Many of these have been known for over half a century. . . .¹

The major floater area extended from Groswater Bay to Mugford Tickle. . . .

As the floater fishery was an extension of the inshore fishery carried on around the shores of the island of Newfoundland, the schooners were used as a mobile base of operations, and therefore represented the major piece of capital equipment. . . . About 85 per cent of the schooners were built in Newfoundland . . . , mostly in the scattered outports around the eastern coast of Newfoundland. . . . As floater fishermen were concerned chiefly with the production of the Labrador semi-dry or ordinary cure, this type of cure amounted to 95 per cent of the total floater production. . . . Prior to World War 1, Conception Bay and St. John's were the main bases of the floater operations. The gradual migration of the industry northward to Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays was caused mainly by the expansion of the inshore fishery in the Conception Bay area and also by increasing economic opportunity in the St. John's area.

The share system, or the division of the catch among members of the crew, was a method of sharing the costs of production. . . . After deduction of costs, the profits were shared among the crewmen. The estimated share of costs and profits was computed on the basis of the catch. The fisherman's gross wage was thus based on the actual catch of fish, as the fishery was not prosecuted on a cash basis. The importance of the share system was emphasized by the fact that floater crews were known as sharemen rather than as fishermen. . . . In a merchant-owned vessel with one trap boat

¹The naming of fishing berths is a common practice among Newfoundland fishermen in all parts of the Island. See E. R. Seary, *Toponymy of the Island of Newfoundland, Checklist No. 1, Sources I, Maps, v.*

and a 12-man crew, there were considered to be 25 half-shares. In a catch of 1,200 quintals, the shares and the catch were distributed as follows: The merchant required for the vessel a half-share from each shareman or 11 half-shares or 528 quintals. The trap boat was credited with a half-share or 48 quintals. The floater skipper received a full share or 96 quintals. Of the remaining 528 quintals, each shareman received a half-share or 48 quintals. . . . There were numerous minor variations.¹

At the peak of the Labrador fishery, between 1894 and 1908, it was prosecuted by 1,400 vessels and over 8,000 sharemen; stationers comprised a summer fishing population of an additional several thousand. Average annual production during these years was almost a million and a half quintals. One of the first fruits of Confederation with Canada in 1949 was the destruction of the Labrador fishery. Newfoundland became part of the high cost dollar area, with its fishing industry requiring higher prices for a low-grade product. Five vessels sailed from Newfoundland to the Labrador in 1954. It was the end of an industry that had been in operation for almost two centuries.²

The Pattern of Settlement and Community Development

The general pattern of the early settlement of the Avalon Peninsula will be clear from Part I of this study, and the development of the communities will be explained, in large part, by preceding sections of Part II. Phase one consisted in the planting, in the early 17th century, of the six colonies of North Falkland, between Trinity and Bonavista bays; Cuper's Cove or Harbour Grace Colony between Trinity and Conception bays; St. John's Colony between Conception Bay and Petty Harbour; Lord Baltimore's colony between Petty Harbour and a headland south of Renew's, and, south of South Falkland, Vaughan's colony at Trepassey. All but English were crowded out. Phase two began in mid-century when the six original colonies either vanished or merged into a single fishing colony, uncertainly governed, harassed both by war and restrictive legislation, and largely comprised of transitory fishermen but with a growing nucleus of stubbornly resident settlers. From this twilight period (late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) emerged the communities whose primary occupations have been sketched, a necklace of villages along a rocky perimeter.

The evidence, such as it is, suggests a meaningful demarcation of the settlements into three, or perhaps four, groupings. That evidence it is impossible to present here in full. It is partly the result of sampling studies of population spread from certain key nuclear settlements, too detailed (and in any case incomplete) for inclusion;³ study of characteristic concentration on specific occupations and natural resources in different areas; incomplete but suggestive analysis of religious distribution and racial origin; and certain even less tangible,

¹"The Labrador Floater Cod Fishery," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 50 (1960), no. 3, p. 267-93.

²There are indications that a modest revival of the Labrador fishery may be imminent.

³Based on analysis of Lists of Electors, in conjunction with official census returns since 1857. From the latter, the figures for the Avalon communities have been extracted for inclusion as Appendix IV, "Population of the Avalon settlements, 1857-1955." They are worth careful study.

but none the less marked, signs observed over some years of personal observation. The proposed groupings are not contradicted, but are confirmed, by the linguistic survey. They are as follows:

First, the district of Ferryland, stretching along the Southern Shore of the Peninsula of Avalon from Trepassey to the western extremity of the district of St. John's West. Once the centre of a flourishing Bank fishery (and the site of the earliest official colonies), the district has since the beginning of the nineteenth century depended on its rich inshore fishery and the prosecution, in Western boats, of the fishery off St. Mary's Bay. Participation in the seal fishery has not been considerable since the early days of the hunt. The people are, and for long have been, predominantly Irish in origin and Roman Catholic in religion.

Second, the districts of St. John's East and West, embracing nearby coastal communities and the settlements stretching along the southern shore of Conception Bay towards Holyrood at the head of the Bay. Through the capital city, St. John's, the area has always been the chief supplying centre of the Island, the seat of such government as existed, and the chief centre of secondary industry. Blessed, by eastern Newfoundland standards, with fertile soil, its outlying parts were the first to develop agriculture on any scale. Its people in religion and origin are mixed. An almost continuous flow of 'outport' stock into the capital is a marked feature of its history. Before the rise of the west coast town of Corner Brook and the structural economic shift to a predominantly Canadian trade, St. John's (apart from two or three of the larger Conception Bay communities) was the point of contact between Newfoundland and the outside world.

Third, a more varied district comprising Harbour Main – Bell Island, Brigus, Port de Grave, and Harbour Grace. Its population is mixed in origin and religion, though (as elsewhere) homogeneous settlements occur. Historically, the area has relied chiefly on the shore, seal, and Labrador fisheries. Certain favoured areas (Brigus, Cupids) have some farming, and secondary industry occurs sporadically. Harbour Grace is its chief community, though its domination is less marked than it once was.

Finally, there is the district of Carbonear – Bay de Verde. The town of Carbonear is, as it has always been, the chief centre, and its population is mixed in origin and religion. The Bay de Verde area comprising the celebrated North Shore, traditionally English and Protestant, is known for the fishing enterprise of its people.

More detailed and sophisticated studies may well modify these proposed groupings.

It will be observed that the Avalon settlements facing Placentia Bay and Trinity Bay have been omitted from this study, though they were included in the investigations upon which the study is based. It was felt that these communities belong properly to the great bays upon which they are economically dependent and with whose histories theirs is intertwined.

Demarcation of the settlements according to religious denominations and the equation of religion and racial origin were made by quite early observers. Tocque,¹ for example, remarked: "The Roman Catholics are Irish and descendants of Irish; the Episcopalians, Methodists, and Congregationalists are English

¹*Newfoundland As It Was and As It Is*, p. 366.

and the descendants of English and Jersey; the Presbyterians are principally Scotch and their descendants." The following is the religious census of the relevant districts for 1857:¹

District	Population	C. of E.	R.C.	Wesley	Kirk	Free Kirk	Congreg.
St. John's East.....	17,325	3,493	11,867	1,303	208	256	225
St. John's West.....	13,121	2,162	10,038	579	92	169	92
Harbour Main.....	5,380	1,160	4,153	71	2	—	—
Port de Grave.....	6,489	2,726	1,637	2,112	1	—	13
Harbour Grace.....	10,067	5,490	3,390	1,112	2	73	6
Carbonear.....	5,233	791	2,582	1,859	—	1	—
Bay de Verde.....	6,221	446	1,583	4,191	—	1	—
Ferryland.....	5,228	127	5,093	8	—	—	—

But while Tocque's correlation of religious denomination with country or origin no doubt holds true generally, it must, as he himself recognized, frequently be qualified. For speaking of Conception Bay communities, he observed: "The original inhabitants [of Holyrood and Harbour Main, both predominantly Catholic in his day] were from England and Jersey, and their descendants informed me that they had been brought up in the Church of England, but owing to their not being visited by any Protestant Minister they were induced to join the Roman Catholic Church. . . . These places are now principally inhabited by persons from the 'Emerald Isle' and natives."²

Systematic study of family names has not yet been undertaken in Newfoundland, and consequently any generalization on the relation between names and origin is insecurely based. To the brief remarks on the subject in Part I of this study, only this can be added: sampling investigation of the official polling lists suggests the possibility of tracing the movement of people from the older centres of population to neighbouring communities. It should be possible to trace the spread of population from, for example, Brigus to the nearby settlements or from Harbour Grace, gradually forming an almost continuous string of communities stretching along the perimeter of the Peninsula, spreading linearly from the original focal points of early settlement.³

Though one might, on *a priori* grounds, have expected the communities of Avalon to be isolated stagnant settlements, in fact there has been quite remarkable and continuous interchange and shift of population throughout their recorded history. Thus, though St. John's is an ancient city, its population has been so repeatedly refreshed by the influx of 'outport' stock that the inquirer might be hard put to find ten citizens in a row, both of whose grandparents were born in the capital. And even when seasonal visitations did not lead to permanent moves, they modified the effects of physical separation of communities. Joint participation in the great fisheries, seasonal employment in the mines of Bell

¹Today, more than a century later, the only significant change in the denominational balance of the Avalon communities has been the increase in such 'miscellaneous' Protestant groups as the Salvation Army, Pentecostals, and Seventh Day Adventists.

²*Ibid.*, p. 122-23.

³Such special problems as the incidence of Jersey and the other Channel Islands family names have received some attention. See H. W. Le Messurier, "The Early Relations between Newfoundland and the Channel Islands," *The Geographical Review* (December 1916), vol. 2; A. M. Ayre, *Newfoundland Names* (n.p., n.d.).

Island,¹ the woods, or on the Mainland have made Newfoundlanders one of the most mobile of people and the despair of employers through the still common desire to 'go home for the winter.' And it is this which has also helped to modify, though not to cancel out, that separateness of the people of different areas remarked long ago by Wix: "The inhabitants of Conception Bay, although a neck of land of only a few miles extent separates them from Trinity Bay, differ from the inhabitants of the latter, as much as if they were of a distant nation; the same may be said of the difference between those who live in Placentia and those who live in Fortune Bay."²

The great majority of the settlers, wherever they came from, belonged to the peasantry of their countries of origin. Among the Scots and the Jerseymen, a higher proportion was middle class. Outside St. John's and a few of the larger centres, the growth of a middle class was slow: a typical community would consist of a few planters and fishermen. Conditions generated a rigid and permanent division with few or no intervening gradations. The lack of schools and the poverty of the people made it difficult for the majority to rise, if rising it can be called, above the conditions into which they had been born. Those who succeeded rarely remained in their communities, and Newfoundland, like Scotland, became famous for its 'human exports.'

In the capital, and also to some extent in such communities as Harbour Grace and Carbonear, a more complex society developed quite early in the nineteenth century. Tocque describes four classes: "The principal merchants [the "Fishocracy"], high officials of Government, and some of the lawyers and medical men. . . . The small merchants, large shopkeepers, some of the lawyers and doctors, and secondary officials Grocers, masters, mechanics, and schooner-holders The fishermen The first and second classes rarely, if ever, hold any social intercourse with the others. There is no colony belonging to the British Empire where influence and name tend so much to form caste in society, and where it is more regarded."³ This small, dominant minority, with its economic and, for many years, its political control over the Island, developed, with eyes turned to Britain, a rudimentary culture of its own, centred on Government House and its entourage. It was, as one might expect, a derivative culture and stood in marked contrast to the folk-culture of the outports with their richness in song, ballad, proverb, tale, and customary observances. Until recently, sons of merchants were apt to spend their childhood in England being educated before returning to Newfoundland to enter business. Until quite late in the nineteenth century, their apartments were almost invariably located over their business premises.

The establishment of Mr. Elson in Carbonear was composed of two contiguous buildings—the upper house, where the family resided, and where the head of the firm slept; and the lower house, where all the clerks slept and boarded, and where Mr. Elson took his meals with them, spending the day from breakfast-time till about

¹Since 1895. "The miners and surfacemen in former years were engaged in two six-monthly shifts, the first comprising those who went fishing in the summer and worked in the mines in the winter, and the second those who worked in the woods in the winter and in the mines in the summer." *Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report*, p. 157. The several thousand Bell Island miners now employed are, of course, primarily miners; but many of them still commute on weekends to their Conception Bay homes.

²*Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal*, p. 168.

³*Newfoundland As It Is and As It Was*, p. 86-7.

eleven o'clock at night. The lower house, a large but low structure of wood, was old and ramshackled; the only ornament on its rude colonial front opposite the counting-house, was an antique sundial. Immediately before this façade, and running along its entire extent, was a raised platform of boards, known as "the gallery," so old and rotten that in a year or two it was cleared away and replaced by a walk of hard gravel. On this platform it was usual for the officials to assemble, as well as all those captains of ships in port who were free of Mr. Elson's table, at one o'clock, when a bell aloft was rung as the signal for dinner. . . . What society Carbonear possessed was mainly to be met with in the houses of the planters, several of whom were wealthy and hospitable.¹

The growth of population in the nineteenth century, together with the diversification of the fishing economy and associated activities, led also to a more flexible or at least a more varied social structure. At the same time there was a gradual introduction of educational and other services which brought a greater degree of civility to the communities of Avalon.

Schools had long been in the list of *desiderata* noted by clergymen of all denominations, and it was largely through the religious denominations that they eventually came into being and continued to prosper. With the foundation of 'The Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland' in 1823, the systematic establishment of schools rapidly advanced.² Religious differences sometimes led to difficulties, eventually solved by the setting up of an entirely denominational system of education which remains substantially unchanged in our own day. From their earliest days, the schools in the major Avalon communities were often staffed by schoolmasters from outside Newfoundland. Protestant schools in St. John's, Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and elsewhere frequently drew a substantial proportion of their teachers from England and Scotland, a practice which declined only during the Second World War. The Irish Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Mercy still maintain their traditional contribution to the education of Roman Catholic children. Since the 1930's, the proportion of Brothers from the United States has become considerable. Higher education had to be sought outside the Island until 1926, when a university college was established in St. John's, which was raised to a degree-conferring institution in 1949. The centralization of high-school students in 'regional high schools' is the most recent development in Newfoundland education.

Religious conflict has frequently been seen as the almost Marxist explanation in the development of Newfoundland social institutions and politics. Its relevance is certainly not to be underrated. Gosse recorded that "there existed in Newfoundland in 1827, among the Protestant population of the island, an habitual dread of the Irish as a class, which was more oppressively felt than openly expressed. . . . It was very largely this dread which impelled me to forsake Newfoundland, as a residence, in 1835."³ But Gosse was unfortunate in having arrived in Newfoundland at a time and in a place where religious rivalry, largely caused by the waves of Irish immigration, was at its height. Besides, it may be that Gosse was not the most impartial of witnesses. To the question, how he

¹*Life of Phillip Henry Gosse*, p. 37, 47. See also Devine, *Ye Olde St. John's*.

²In the few years following, schools were opened in St. John's, Harbour Grace, Trinity, Bonavista, and other places. See *Proceedings of The Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland*, Third Report of the Committee, 1826. F. W. Rowe's, *History of Education in Newfoundland* is the standard work on the subject.

³*Life of Phillip Henry Gosse*, p. 43.

liked Newfoundland, the young clerk replied: "I see little in it, except dogs and Irishmen." In his latter years, the great naturalist often returned, in his mind, to his Carbonear years of long ago, and his son, Edmund Gosse, has charmingly recorded childhood memories of his father's Newfoundland experiences.¹

Newfoundland early became the scene of missionary activity, which increased in intensity as the eighteenth century drew to a close. There was a resident Anglican clergyman at St. John's as early as 1699, and one at Harbour Grace in 1766; they and their successors ministered as best they could to such communities as they were able to visit, until a more adequately organized church structure could be erected. The growth of the Irish population in the eighteenth century led, in 1784, to the appointment of a Prefect Apostolic of the Island, though before that date Roman Catholic priests had been active among their people. Methodism was introduced to the Island in 1765: Newfoundland was the first overseas mission ground ever occupied by the Wesleyan Church.²

The churches rapidly established themselves in the communities of Avalon and elsewhere, and achieved that signal and commanding position so noticeable to visitors. From the early days one could easily compile a list of unhappy clashes and petty persecutions; just as, from a somewhat later period, one could compile a catalogue of occasions when religious differences became involved in political and economic cross-currents. It would be equally easy, with no more 'selection' of the evidence, to present an opposing picture of Christian 'sweetness and light' in denominational relations. The truth, as usual, lies somewhere in between, perhaps in the area of this anecdote—a little wry, but unmistakably human—from the first experience of a Methodist minister, the Rev. William Wilson, in Petty Harbour, a town equally divided into Roman Catholics and Anglicans.

Petty Harbor is nine miles from St. John's. . . . This was truly mission ground, where we both had to toil and suffer. Newfoundland is justly proverbial for its hospitality; and in the out-harbors, every house is, or may be, the stranger's home. Petty Harbour was an exception. The people would come to hear us preach, but none would invite us to their table.³

As for the ferocity of Newfoundland politics, it depends on the measure one is using. Jukes, who visited the Island at a particularly excited period in its political history, thought that "scenes quite as bad have taken place at elections at home, more especially, I believe, in Ireland; but they naturally produce more excitement in a scattered and usually tranquil population."⁴ It may be questioned whether a Newfoundland election, at its worst, would merit the second page of, say, a contemporary Montreal newspaper.

Prominent among the nineteenth-century institutions which developed in Newfoundland, and nowhere more vigorously than on the Avalon Peninsula, were such societies as the Benevolent Irish Society, the Star of the Sea Association, the Orange Society, and a dozen other fraternal and charitable organizations. These provided the people with a sense of cohesion and comradeship.

¹"Prefatory Note," Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*, p. ix-xi.

²There are convenient summary histories of the major denominations in the second edition of Prowse's *History*, Chap. XIX-XXII.

³*Newfoundland and its Missionaries*, p. 251-2.

⁴*Excursions*, Vol. I, p. 239. The investigations of professional historians have revolved so wearisomely around Newfoundland political history that we consign the subject, with relief, to the Bibliography.

and the communities with an elaborate secular ceremonial, which supported and coloured an otherwise socially uneventful daily round. To some extent they provided, too, the place of municipal government, which, outside St. John's, is a product of the post-Confederation era.

An account of that era is beyond the scope of this inquiry, concerned as it is chiefly with the historical and the historically important economic and social factors which shaped the communities of Avalon. From an economist's viewpoint, it has been surveyed in a recent study.¹ The opening words of the Preface to that study provide the relevant generalization:

The twentieth century has seen Newfoundland advance from almost complete dependence on the fisheries to a state of economic diversification that has given us many of the trappings of a modern industrial society. The pace of economic, social, and political change has been particularly rapid since Newfoundland entered into union with Canada in 1949. This new era has brought us a great measure of progress in the way of higher living standards, increased production, and improved public facilities. To an increasing degree the benefits of development are being spread throughout all areas of the Province.

The process of development has brought new problems to Newfoundland also—problems of structural economic change and of social adjustment. Our ties with Canada have made Newfoundland a captive market for Mainland food products and manufactures. At the same time we have benefited from many forms of Federal Government expenditure that are designed to promote the economic well-being of this province. But federal welfare payments are no good substitute for employment. We are still faced with the need of improving the productivity of our industries and of finding new jobs for a rapidly growing labour force.

These are problems that the economist, the government planner, the businessman, and the sociologist must wrestle with. The merely curious linguist, embarrassingly conscious of truancy from his proper work, is left, after this long survey, with a piquant awareness of the diverse emblems which have been used to present the image of Newfoundland life and labour. To that most lively and perceptive historian of the Island, J. D. Rogers, "The central object in an allegorical picture which symbolized Newfoundland would be the codfish, and around it would be grouped its favourite bait the herring, the capelin . . . and the squid."² To the modern economist, the allegorical picture (labelled 'Proportional Distribution of the Newfoundland Labour Force, 1951')³ is a circle on a white background, quartered, with the following legends beneath appropriate symbols: construction 6.9 per cent; manufacturing, 13.9 per cent; resources exploitation, 35 per cent; services, 44.2 per cent.

SELECTED COMMUNITIES

This section of Part II presents a sampling of our studies of Avalon communities. To describe all the settlements of the area would require a separate book; even the selection here presented is the result of severe condensation. Of the twelve communities treated, all are among the earliest of the Newfoundland settlements, all have a more or less continuous history, and all have played and continue to

¹Copes, P., *St. John's and Newfoundland: An Economic Survey*.

²*A Historical Geography of Newfoundland*, p. 209.

³Copes, *St. John's and Newfoundland*, p. 5.

play an important role in the lives of their respective districts. They include most of the chief towns and villages of the Peninsula.

The intent is, first, to provide particular illustrations of the more general historical, economic, and social features dealt with in Part I and the preceding sections of Part II; and, second, to provide relevant information about the kinds of communities in which the linguistic survey in Part III was made. Each entry presents first the facts of nomenclature, followed by a brief statement on the site and physical nature of the settlement. The earliest recorded date of settlement or visitation is followed by a concise conspectus of the history of the community. A chronological order is used in the notes on population and occupations. The section on miscellaneous matters includes notes on family names.¹

The compressed form of the descriptions has imposed several limitations. The larger communities, such as St. John's, Carbonear, and Harbour Grace, have not been treated on the scale their relative importance merits: the quantity of material available is simply too great for balanced summary. Such statistical data as we present on population, religion, and occupation are a mere sampling of the information available (some of which is presented more fully in appendices to this study).²

We regret that it has not been possible to indicate all the sources of our information, particularly because it is hoped that the presentation of our material, or at any rate its example, will be of service in the systematic study of local history in Newfoundland, a study without which national history is insecurely based. However, reference to the Select Bibliography which concludes our work will serve as an introduction to the rich and varied material lying at hand.

In this section the following abbreviations are used:

1. Church of England.....	C. of E.
2. Congregational.....	Congreg.
3. Methodist.....	Meth.
4. Roman Catholic.....	R.C.
5. Salvation Army.....	S.A.
6. United Church of Canada.....	U.C.

Trepassey

Nomenclature. Trepassey Bay—Riuo de bosas (?) (1505-8), saintt Christoffe (?) (1544), trepasses (1555), Trepassa (1583), Trepassey (1588-1622).

Trepassey Harbour—Abra Trepassa (1630), Port des Trepassez (1754), Trepassey Harbour (1763).

Trepassey (Settlement)—'Trepastye . . . with 5 families' (1674-5).

Fr. *trépassé*—dead person; *les trépassés*—the dead. After the Baie des Trépassés (?), Brittany. "In former days, due to indraught, many sailing vessels

¹A date in brackets after a name indicates its first recorded occurrence. A name in brackets implies that it is no longer found in the community.

²All students of Newfoundland must deplore the absence of published census figures to match the superb series issued by the Island's Government between 1857 and 1921. The two volumes issued by the Commission of Government in 1937 and 1945 contain much information, but it is awkwardly arranged for the purposes of local history. The information issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics is practically useless for our purposes.

were wrecked on the eastern shore of Trepassey Bay" (*Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, vol. I, p. 91).

Site. Trepassey is the chief settlement of the bay to which it gives its name. The broad entrance to the harbour is between the westerly coast and a high headland (Powles Point), $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles north-northeast of which is the town. There is a sheltered anchorage in the harbour. "This is a pleasant-looking place, the land having a gentle slope on all sides towards the harbour, and being comparatively bare of wood" (Jukes, 1842).

History. Resort of Spanish, French, Biscayan, and English fishermen early 16th to 17th century; site of Vaughan's abortive Colony, 1617-19; English inhabitants, 1652; French summer fishing, 1680; centre of English bank fishery, 18th century; deputy customs officer appointed, 1782; partly settled by Irish 'youngsters'; 50 boats prosecute shore fishery, 1830; magistrate appointed, 1827; R.C. school, 1836; branch railway from St. John's, 1915-32; fresh-fish plant, 1959; R.C. Regional High School, 1961.

Population. 32 (?) (1616), 44 (1674), 114 (1730), 541 (1857), 684 (1891), 298 (1921), 550 (1945).

Religion. 12 C. of E., 529 R.C., (1857); 5 C. of E., 679 R.C., (1891); 550 R.C. (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 1 doctor, 198 fishermen. 1891: 1 clergyman, 7 teachers, 1 doctor, 3 office-workers, 206 fishermen-farmers, 180 fishermen, 3 female fish-curiers; 91 nets and seines, 20 cod-traps, 2,729 quintals shore-catch, 3 tierces salmon, 18 barrels herring, 2,725 gallons cod-oil, \$11,881 fish products, 14 fishing rooms, 123 boats; 523 acres cultivated: 217 tons hay, 650 barrels potatoes, 46 barrels turnips, 47,250 cabbages; 68 horses, 33 cows, 332 sheep, 83 swine, 715 fowl, 831 furs. 1921: 1 clergyman, 7 teachers, 1 doctor, 1 merchant, 2 government employees, 114 fishermen-farmers, 114 fishermen, 96 female fish-curiers, 4 miscellaneous.

Names. (Browning, 1680), Kennedy, Pennell, Sutton, Curtis, Hewitt, Molloy, Halleran, Corrigan, Waddleton.

Miscellaneous. "Trepassey was formerly a place of some note but is now a very inconsiderable fishing village" (Tocque, 1877). In addition to the immediate shore fishery, boats sail to the rich grounds off Cape St. Mary, from which comes the saying, 'Cape St. Mary's will pay for all.'

Ferryland

Nomenclature. Ferryland Head—Farilham (1529), Forillon (1547), Foriland (1588-1622), Ferriland (1626).

Ferryland Harbour—Farrillon (1597), Farillon or Fer-land (1610), Ferryland (1669), Freizeland (1670), Ferre Land (1674-5), Ferryland (1682), Fair Ellen (1705), Ferryland-Pool, Ferryland-Port or Harbour (1715), Foreland H (c. 1760), Ferryland Harbour (1773).

Port. (?) *farelhao*—steep rock, steep little island, reef; Fr. *forillon*—cape, point; Eng. foreland.

Site. The village, one of the principal settlements of the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula, lies on the western side of a secure harbour. It is approached by sea through an entrance one cable wide between Bois Island and a

long, narrow peninsula. "A pleasant place . . . the scenery around is varied and picturesque, the bold headlands, cliffs and rocky inlets of the sea-view harmonizing well with the dark woods and hills of the land" (Jukes, 1842).

History. Resort of Spanish, French, Biscayan, Jersey, and English fishermen early 16th to 17th century; site of Baltimore's Colony, 1621-9; Kirke's capital 1638; raided by Dutch fleet, 1673; French attack repulsed by Holman and settlers, 1694; captured by French, 108 *hommes*, 12 *habitants* taken and £12,000 damage inflicted, 1696; 12 ships sailing from English ports, 1700; raided by French and £25,000 damage inflicted here and at Bay Bulls, 1705; justices and constables appointed, 1732; 40 boats, 1736; centre of bank Fishery with Irish 'youngsters' and Dartmouth merchants, 18th century; 23 ships, 113 men, 31,000 qtl., 1799; riots, 1788; R.C. itinerant priests, c. 1780; 25 vessels cleared at the custom-house, 1833; R.C. school, 1836; C. of E. 1863; R.C. church, 1863.

Population. 34 (1621-2), 100 (1683), 134 (1674), 108 (1697), 166 (1700), 323 (1730), 120 English, 130 Irish servants, (1753), 150 (1759), 598 (1857), 549 (1891), 567 (1921), 523 (1945).

Religion. 64 Protestants, 86 Catholics (1759); 54 C. of E., 544 R.C. (1857); 25 C. of E., 522 R.C., 1 Kirk (1891); 1 C. of E., 522 R.C. (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 2 clergymen, 1 doctor, 371 fishermen. 1891: 1 clergyman, 2 teachers, 1 doctor, 5 merchants, 2 office-workers, 7 government employees, 1 farmer, 110 fishermen-farmers, 2 mechanics, 23 fishermen, 47 female fish-curiers, 34 miscellaneous; 6 fishing vessels, 2 bankers (30 men), 51 nets and seines, 18 cod-traps, 2 lobster factories (28 men), 700 lobster-traps. 2,589 quintals shore catch, 20 tierces salmon, 13 barrels herring, 2,774 gallons cod-oil, \$12,633 fish products, 25 fishing rooms, 6 sailing vessels, 74 boats; 482 acres cultivated: 199 tons hay, 1,328 barrels potatoes, 213 barrels turnips; 40 horses, 43 cows, 344 sheep, 1 swine, 106 goats, 1,035 fowl, 1 fur. 1921: 1 clergyman, 8 teachers, 1 doctor, 2 merchants, 5 shop-workers, 6 government employees, 5 farmers, 123 fishermen-farmers, 3 mechanics, 123 fishermen, 54 female fish-curiers, 10 miscellaneous.

Names. (Carter, 1694), (Cleer, 1694), (Christian, 1694), (Clapp, 1712), Clowe, Costello, Kinsella, O'Keefe, Walsh, Williams, Barnable, Hynes.

Miscellaneous. Site of Lord Baltimore's mansion recently uncovered.

Petty Harbour

Nomenclature. petit abra (1623), Pettit harbour (1626), Petti Harbor (c. 1630), Petty harbour (1669).

The little harbour—in comparison with St. John's?

Site. The harbour is in a narrow gully, about half a cable wide, with depths of from 3 to 6 fathoms. The village is clustered at the head of the harbour with houses and fishing premises hugging the sides. The settlement is surrounded by high and precipitous hills, broken only by a narrow valley through which a stream descends sharply to the sea. Petty Harbour is 9 miles by road to St. John's. "After traversing a moorland, we came suddenly on the verge of its seaward slope; and there in a narrow ravine between dark precipices lay the cluster of white houses called Petty Harbour. The houses surround a small creek, which received a howling torrent that hurries over the rocks of a desolate

valley just behind, and they seem so secluded and shut out from the world, and the people too seemed so well off and contented that I was much interested with the place altogether" (Jukes, 1842).

History. Resort of Spanish, French, Portuguese, Biscayan, and English fishermen, early 16th to 17th century; "a great combat between some insolent English and certain Portugals," 1620; English residents, c. 1650; raided by Dutch, 1665; captured by French, 1704; residents petition for justices and constables "in the winter season especially [when we] are in danger of our lives from our servants whose debauched principles lead them to comit wilful and open murder upon their masters," 1720; justices and constables, 1732; C. of E. and R.C. clergy regular visitors, c. 1785; Wm. Compton, prominent merchant, 1777-90, employed 29 men and 8 boats; Anglican school, 1825; baitskiff with French, the master, and five men lost, 7 June 1852; power-house opened, 1900; bait-freezer opened, 1904.

Population. 54 (1674), 60 (1697), 255 (1794), 440 (1815), 747 (1857), 953 (1891), 727 (1921), 862 (1945).

Religion. 133 Protestants, 122 Catholics, (1794); 195 Protestants, 248 Catholics, (1815); 283 C. of E., 464 R.C., (1857); 370 C. of E., 571 R.C., 12 Kirk, (1891); 399 C. of E., 461 R.C., 1 U.C., 1 S.A., (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 3 farmers, 5 mechanics, 300 fishermen and female fish-curers, 100 fishermen. 1891: 1 clergyman, 3 teachers, 4 merchants, 20 fishermen-farmers, 3 mechanics, 149 fishermen, 81 female fish-curers; 183 nets, 13 cod-traps, 5,619 quintals shore catch, 121 barrels herring, 5,532 gallons cod-oil, \$36,164 fish-products, 26 fishing rooms, 105 boats. 1921: 1 clergyman, 7 teachers, 4 lawyers, 2 office-workers, 2 government employees, 1 farmer, 211 fishermen-farmers, 5 mechanics, 211 fishermen, 124 female fish-curers, 1 lumberman, 10 miscellaneous.

Names. (Compton, 1777), Chafe, French, Stack, Lee, White, Whitten.

Miscellaneous. The loss of the bait-skiff in 1852 was the occasion of the loveliest of Newfoundland folk-songs, 'The Petty Harbour Bait-Skiff.'

St. John's

Nomenclature. Haven of Saint John (1527).

Site. The City of St. John's is the most easterly of the settlements of Avalon and of the New World. It is approached by sea through a narrow channel from which rise high sheer cliffs. The harbour is landlocked and is sheltered by the high hills on which the city is built. Wharves and jetties line both sides of the harbour. The principal part of the city is built along a series of streets running horizontally and vertically around the western, northern, and northeastern sides of the harbour. The chief residential areas stretch west, north, and northeast through a number of valleys dividing the several ranges of hills, themselves mostly built-over, which lie behind the first range. The city has regular sea communications with other ports in Newfoundland and with Europe and the mainland of North America. It is the centre of the air, road, and rail communications of the Island. "One of the most dramatic towns in the world: Dublin on the Isle of Skye" (Professor Acland, 1962).

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th to 17th century; formally claimed for England by Gilbert, 1583, who found it "a place very populous and much-frequented"; English settlers, c. 1640; captured by French (1696) who found "a battery of eight guns. The inhabitants . . . are very well settled along the north side of the harbour to a distance of about half a league. There were three forts . . . having a native as Governor with sixty men"; Anglican clergyman resident, 1699; 44 ships sailing from English ports, 1700; captured by French, 1705 and 1708; first naval governor, 1729; magistrates and constables, 1732; collector of customs, 1775; resident doctor, 1777; post-office, 1806; newspaper, 1806; fire, 1816; riots in the 'Winter of the Rals,' 1817; school, 1824; political agitation, 1830; seat of representative government, 1832; election riots, 1836; fire, 1846; cholera epidemic, 1854; seat of responsible government, 1856; political riots, 1861; Great Fire, 1892; Bank Crash, 1894; city charter, 1921; university college, 1926; riots, 1932; Americans build Fort Pepperrell, 1942; University, 1949.

Population. 62 (1613), 246 (1674), 300 (1697), 256 (1700), 454 English, 395 Irish servants (1753), 3,132 (1799), 5,564 (1805), 10,000 (1813), 13,335 (1836), 24,857 (1857), 25,738 (1891), 36,444 (1921), 44,603 (1945), 52,873 (1951), 57,078 (1956).

Religion. 1,029 Protestants, 2,215 Catholics (1794); 2,454 Protestants, 6,732 Catholics (1815); 4,010 C. of E., 18,249 R.C., 1,473 Wesleyan, 615 Kirk, 92 Congreg., (1857); 8,550 C. of E., 20,756 R.C., 5,135 Meth., 1,030 Kirk, 406 Congreg., 141 S.A. (1891); 14,145 C. of E., 27,153 R.C., 12,554 U.C., 1,184 Kirk, 1,478 S.A., 354 Pentecostal (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 11 clergymen, 41 doctors and lawyers, 328 farmers, 1,404 mechanics, 400 merchants, 2,063 fishermen-curers, 1,911 fishermen, 89 lumbermen. 1891: 32 clergymen, 135 teachers, 42 lawyers, 17 doctors, 202 merchants, 1,070 office- and shop-workers, 268 government employees, 354 farmers, 37 fishermen-farmers, 1,759 mechanics, 405 fishermen, 5 female fish-curers, 4 miners, 460 factory workers, 3,029 miscellaneous; 18 fishing vessels, 18 bankers (10,500 quintals, 262 men), 40,090 quintals Labrador catch, 8 nets and seines, 2 cod-traps, 994 quintals shore catch, 6 tierces salmon, 1,009 barrels herring, 6,260 gallons cod-oil, 3,990 gallons seal-oil, 287,327 seals, \$802,836 fish products, 5 fishing-rooms, 18 steamships, 64 sailing vessels, 24 boats; 10,557 acres occupied: 277 bushels wheat, 2,783 bushels oats, 3,547 tons hay, 16,165 barrels potatoes, 15,224 barrels turnips, 320,350 cabbages; 769 horses, 1,020 cows, 521 sheep, 395 swine, 58 goats, 13,087 fowl. 1921: 32 clergymen, 168 teachers, 35 lawyers, 21 doctors, 184 merchants, 1,520 office- and shop-workers, 282 government employees, 71 farmers, 101 fishermen-farmers, 812 mechanics, 152 fishermen, 96 female fish-curers, 2 lumbermen, 307 factory-workers, 2,396 miscellaneous.

Names. The continuous stream of new stock into the capital makes any sampling meaningless. The following are the recorded names of 17th and early 18th century inhabitants: Downing (1676), Oxford (1676), Bennet (1689), Fursey (1689), Roberts (1698), Gelman (1696), May (1696), Drew (1696), Benger (1712), Keen (1732), Gill (1748), Thommasley (1757), Stripling (1757), Baird (1757), Hutchings (1757), Green (1757), Cocking (1757), Morley (1757), Stokes (1757), Fly (1757), Chafe (1757), Tucker (1757), Monier (1759), Bevill (1759),

Thomas (1759), and the following tavern-keepers licensed in 1797: Little, Cox, Martin, Cahill, Power, Clannery, McNamara, McCarthy, Welsh, McDonald, St. John, Lyons, Marn, Maher, Flood, Brophy, Widdicomb, Doyle, Hanlon, Redmond, Power, Murphy, Prendergast, King, Shepherd, Nevean, Harrahan, Delaney, Codey.

Miscellaneous. "For dirt and filth of all kinds, St. John's may in my opinion reign unrivalled" (Sir Joseph Banks, 1766).

Though there be here no yellow cowslip glowing,
No primrose hidden in the hawthorn shade,
No purple hyacinth its soft breath throwing
Upon the air, along the forest glade;
Yet there are flow'rs in lovely clusters beaming,
Like fallen stars upon the wide lake's brim,
And silvery bells about the dark marsh gleaming,
While lily-leaves the waters' brightness dim.

(Henrietta Prescott, *Poems Written in Newfoundland*, 1839).

Torbay

Nomenclature. Torrebay (1612), Thorn Bay (1621), Torbay (1626). Transferred English place-name (?).

Site. Torbay, a small settlement north of St. John's, is entered by sea between two points, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles apart. The northwestern side is high and precipitous, the shore broken by deep gulches. The village is located on the southwestern side, extending up towards the top of the hills backing the bay. Rugged, broken cliffs separate the bay from its neighbours. 12-fathom anchorage is offered. Torbay is 8 miles by road from St. John's.

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, early 16th to 17th century; English inhabitants, c. 1650; raided by French, 1696; 1 ship carrying fish to Mediterranean markets, 1700; raided by French, who ransomed 4 inhabitants, 1709; scene of landing of Col. Amherst and British forces for the re-capture of St. John's from the French, 1762; boat-keepers petition for amendment of fisheries acts, c. 1790; road from St. John's constructed, c. 1830; school, 1828; C. of E., 1843; R.C. church, 1859.

Population. 6 (1674), 18 (1697), 30 (1700), 207 (1794), 556 (1815), 1,196 (1857), 1,456 (1891), 1,534 (1921), 1,422 (1945).

Religion. 108 Protestants, 99 Catholics (1794); 181 Protestants, 375 Catholics (1815); 188 C. of E., 1,008 R.C. (1857); 184 C. of E., 1,271 R.C., 1 Meth. (1891); 242 C. of E., 1,179 R.C. 1 U.C., (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 1 clergyman, 179 farmers, 6 mechanics, 321 fishermen-curers, 126 fishermen. 1891: 1 clergyman, 7 teachers, 2 shop-workers, 3 government employees, 86 farmers, 291 fishermen-farmers, 5 mechanics, 219 fishermen, 85 female fish-curers, 402 miscellaneous; 66 nets and seines, 14 cod-traps, 2,578 quintals shore-catch, 2,416 gallons cod-oil, \$10,938 fish-products, 43 fishing-rooms, 7 boats; 302 acres occupied: 3,299 bushels oats, 964 tons hay, 8,835 barrels potatoes, 2,979 barrels turnips, 60,000 cabbages; 248 horses, 249 cows, 118 sheep, 147 swine, 6 goats, 4,717 fowl. 1921: 1 clergyman, 9 teachers, 1 doctor, 5 office- and shop-workers, 3 government employees,

110 farmers, 8 mechanics, 310 fishermen, 162 female fish-curers, 1 factory-worker, 48 miscellaneous.

Names. (Barrett, 1711), Blackmore (1730), Bradbury, Tapper, Thorne, Whitty, Manning, Codner (1761), Gosse (1730), McGrath, Roche (Sutton, 1711).

Miscellaneous. "The houses, as is always the case in the small places, are scattered irregularly round the cove, with a straggling path from one to the other. They are built of wood, each by its own inhabitant . . . and with small windows and doors, the chimney and hearth being of brick. One or two have two stories, and a second room or parlour. As a shore frontage is of the first importance to their fishing operations, every advantage is taken to extend it. Zigzag stairs, supported by short poles resting on points of rock and wooden props, lead in some places down the face of the black slate cliffs, to a wild little landing-place on some sharp jagged ledges; while stages are often carried out on the rocks, affording places on which to spread the fish to dry" (Jukes, 1842).

Brigus

Nomenclature. Brega (c. 1630), Briggs (1669), Brigues (1677), Brigass in the North (1677), Brigus (1693), Breckhouse (1705), Breast by North (1705).

After French family name Brégou, from an old Provençal form *brega* (?). After Breage or St. Breock, place-names in Cornwall (?).

The name also occurs on the Southern Shore as 'Brigus by South.'

Site. The town is situated at the head of Conception Bay on the shores of a lake between steep barren hills. The mouth of the bay (Brigus Bay) is 6 cables wide and is flanked by high, precipitous hills. The town is connected to the railway system and is 49 miles by road from St. John's. "A wild, rocky little place: but about three miles inland from it is a fertile valley" (Jukes, 1842).

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th century; English residents, c. 1650; in 1677 it had 3 dwellings, 3 planters, 3 wives, 4 sons, 2 daughters, 33 fishery servants, 7 boats, 4 horses, 13 hogs, 2 gardens, and it produced 580 quintals fish; 70 *hommes*, 11 *habitants* captured by French, 1697; 2 vessels sailing from English ports, 1700; raided by French, 1705; one of the chief centres of Labrador and seal fisheries, 19th century; birthplace of Captain 'Bob' Bartlett, arctic explorer; residence of the artist Rockwell Kent, c. 1914.

Population. 24 (1674), 70 (1697), 56 (1700), 2,000 (1839), 1,612 (1857), 1,541 (1891), 936 (1921), 888 (1945), 1,403 (1951).

Religion. 402 C. of E., 488 R.C., 709 Wesleyan, 1 Kirk, 12 Congreg., (1857); 344 C. of E., 443 R.C., 749 Meth., 5 S.A., (1891); 123 C. of E., 278 R.C., 483 U.C., 2 S.A., (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 3 clergymen, 1 doctor, 11 farmers, 42 mechanics, 21 merchants, 487 fishermen-curers, 327 fishermen. 1891: 3 clergymen, 10 teachers, 1 doctor, 9 merchants, 22 shop-workers, 4 government employees, 1 farmer, 193 fishermen-farmers, 18 mechanics, 235 fishermen, 64 female fish-curers, 103 miscellaneous; 69 fishing rooms, 23 vessels, 245 boats; 1,052 acres cultivated: 48 bushels oats, 313 tons hay, 4,971 barrels potatoes, 296 barrels turnips; 62 horses, 52 cows, 424 sheep, 183 swine, 911 fowl. 1921: 3 clergymen, 10 teachers, 1 doctor, 3 merchants, 21 office- and shop-workers, 9

government employees, 7 farmers, 120 fishermen-farmers, 23 mechanics, 120 fishermen, 51 female fish-curers, 1 miner, 3 factory workers, 81 miscellaneous.

Names. Bartlett, Fry, Hayes, Linthorne, Loveless, Rose, Sparkes, Youden, Antle, Gushue, Haxeltine, Percy, Whelan, Clarke, Curnew, Gorman, Lambe, Leamon, Pomeroy, Roberts, Spracklin.

Miscellaneous. "The Messrs. Munden, Norman, Percey, Wheelan, Bartlett, and Roberts reside here, who are some of the richest planters in Newfoundland. . . . Nearly the whole trade of Brigus has been removed to St. John's" (Tocque, 1877).

Port de Grave

Nomenclature. Graves (1669), P Graue (1675).

Fr. *grève*, *grave*—pebbly or sandy beach; Grave(s)—Fr. family name.

Site. The bay, near the head of Conception Bay, is entered between headlands $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart. Cupids Cove is a considerable bight, indenting the southeastern shore $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sea. The northwestern shore trends southwest $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, indented about 6 cables by Hibb's Hole, Back Cove, Ship Cove, and Port de Grave. The last has depth of from 6 to 9 feet. Connected by a by-road to the Conception Bay highway at Clarke's Beach, 54 miles from St. John's.

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th century; said to have been settled by English before 1610; raided by French who found "one hundred and ten men and seventeen houses there, well armed," 1697; 5 vessels sailing from English ports, 1700; raided by French, 1705; school, 1830; prominent merchant family of Prowse, c. 1830; birthplace of the historian Prowse.

Population. 36 (1674), 116 (1697), 216 (1700), 440 (1857), 347 (1891), 243 (1921), 217 (1945).

Religion. 117 C. of E., 42 R.C., 281 Wesleyan (1857); 133 C. of E., 2 R.C., 204 Meth., 8 S.A. (1891); 104 C. of E., 84 U.C., 27 Pentecostal, 1 S.A. (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 2 clergymen, 1 farmer, 6 mechanics, 5 merchants, 159 fishermen-curers, 79 fishermen. 1891: 1 clergyman, 2 teachers, 2 merchants, 2 shop-workers, 1 government employee, 36 fishermen-farmers, 4 mechanics, 95 fishermen, 18 female fish-curers, 4 miscellaneous; 9 fishing vessels, 1 banker (12 men, 650 quintals catch), 8 Labrador schooners (79 men, 5,325 quintals catch), 23 nets and seines, 13 cod-traps, 137 quintals shore-catch, 35 barrels herring, 2,599 gallons cod-oil, \$17,412 fish products, 2 fishing rooms, 10 sailing vessels, 43 boats; 41 acres cultivated: 15 tons hay, 852 barrels potatoes, 7 barrels turnips, 5,300 cabbages; 14 horses, 3 cows, 61 sheep, 72 swine, 6 goats, 203 fowl.

Names. Andrews, Bussey, Christopher, Dawe, Efford, Hussey, Lear, Morgan, Mugford, Ralph, Tucker.

Miscellaneous. "Coming down to the head of Port de Grave the scenery was very beautiful. Patches of grass, clusters of large trees, with lakes and bold hills on the one side and the broad bay on the other, together with several small but neat wooden cottages sprinkled about here and there among the woods, composed a landscape that reminded me of home, and was singularly beautiful when seen under a clear sky" (Jukes, 1842).

"It is quite probable that people (including the Dawes) were settled at Ship Cove and Port de Grave even before 1595" (Smallwood, *Gazetteer*, 1940). Port de Grave fishermen have always been famous for their enterprise.

Bay Roberts

Nomenclature. B. Roberts (c. 1630). Robert—French family name (?).

Site. The town, one of the principal Conception Bay settlements, is located near the head of the Bay in the northern of two coves separated by a spit of land and shoals. Easy of access, it affords safe anchorage in depths of 4 to 5 fathoms. There are numerous wharves and small piers. The town is 57 miles by road to St. John's and 64 miles by railway.

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th to 17th century; said to have been settled by English c. 1610; raided by French who captured 10 *hommes*, 3 *habitants*, 1697; justice and constables, 1730; visited by Wesleyan minister who preached to 400 people, 1791; school, 1829; murder by 'mummers' led to riots, 1861; loss of the sealer 'Huntsman,' with 40 men, 1872; centre of Labrador fishery, 19th century; Methodist church, 1905; C. of E., 1911; Western Union cable terminus, 1913.

Population. 28 (1674), 60 (1700), 400 (?) (1791), 2,459 (1869), 2,177 (1891), 2,168 (1921), 1,301 (1945), 1,222 (1951).

Religion. 1,302 C. of E., 355 R.C., 483 Meth., 1 Kirk, 36 S.A. (1891); 507 C. of E., 209 R.C., 395 U.C., 138 S.A., 29 Pentecostal (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1891: 2 clergymen, 8 teachers, 1 doctor, 12 merchants, 22 shop-workers, 4 government employees, 5 farmers, 1,093 fishermen-farmers, 27 mechanics, 505 fishermen, 203 female fish-curers; 29 fishing vessels, 5 bankers (14 men, 360 quintals catch), 24 Labrador schooners (460 men, 177 women, 124 children, 36,682 quintals catch), 108 nets and seines, 58 cod-traps, 8 tierces salmon, 416 barrels herring, 20,327 gallons cod-oil, \$120,849 fish products, 6 fishing rooms, 29 sailing vessels, 303 boats; 1,088 acres occupied: 72 bushels oats, 375 tons hay, 8,149 barrels potatoes, 226 barrels turnips; 134 horses, 55 cows, 362 sheep, 769 swine, 1,366 fowl. 1921: 4 clergymen, 17 teachers, 3 doctors, 13 merchants, 36 shop workers, 9 government employees, 3 farmers, 414 fishermen-farmers, 91 mechanics, 278 fishermen, 189 female fish-curers, 6 miners, 10 factory workers, 205 miscellaneous.

Names. Badcock (1730), Baggs, Batten, Barrett, Cave, Dawe (Earle, 1777), French (Garland, 1730), King, Mencheon, Mercer, Morgan, Mosdell, Norman, Parsons, Russell, Snow, Sparkes, Tipple, Tuttle (Vey, 1791), Walsh, White, Yetman.

Miscellaneous. Birthplace of Samuel A. Mercer, orientalist and linguist.

Harbour Grace

Nomenclature. Harbor de Grace (1612).

After Havre de Grace, now Le Havre, the harbour *par excellence*, founded in 1517 by Francis I of France.

Site. The town, perhaps the most important of the Conception Bay communities, stands on the northwestern shore of a large harbour which is divided

into an inner and outer section by shoals, rocks, and islands. Hills rise from the water's edge on both sides, and it is on a gentle foothill that the town is loosely sprawled along several parallel streets. Wharves and piers line the waterfront. It is 73 miles by rail or 68 miles by road from St. John's and has regular sea communications with other Newfoundland ports. "It is a pretty-looking little town [with] altogether a more English and neat appearance than most places in Newfoundland" (Jukes, 1842).

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th to 17th century; Beaudoin (1696) wrote: "This harbour was the first established by the English in the island of Newfoundland. Three years ago, an inhabitant who was born here, died at the age of 83"; raided by the French, 1696; 6 ships sailing from English ports, 1700; burnt by the French, 1705; justices and constables, 1730; Irish faction fights, 1766; C. of E., 1764; Methodist Mission, 1765; Methodist chapel, 1771; C. of E. school, 1774; Anspach, J. P. and C. of E. clergyman, 1799; courthouse built, 1808; fire, 1832; disorders, 1833; newspaper, 1834; election riots, 1836; grammar school, 1843; telegraph communications, 1852; fire, 1858; election riots, 1860; R.C. diocese, 1856; boot and shoe factory established, 1878; railway, 1882; Catholic-Protestant disturbances, 1883; point of departure for early trans-Atlantic air flights, c. 1920's; fire, 1944.

Population. 55 (1674), 100 (1697), 151 (1700), 5,768 (?) (1778), 3,000 (1839), 6,466 (1891), 5,095 (1857), 2,331 (1891), 2,661 (1921), 2,065 (1945).

Religion. 4,462 Protestants, 1,306 Catholics (1778); 1,775 C. of E., 2,491 R.C., 755 Wesleyan, 74 Kirk (1857); 2,643 C. of E., 2,477 R.C., 1,087 Meth., 156 Kirk, 97 S.A. (1891); 897 C. of E., 693 R.C., 435 U.C., 32 Kirk, 7 S.A. (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 5 clergymen, 5 doctors and lawyers, 35 farmers, 100 mechanics, 13 merchants, 973 fishermen-curers, 869 fishermen. 1891: 5 clergymen, 15 teachers, 1 lawyer, 2 doctors, 19 merchants, 106 shop and office workers, 48 government employees, 60 farmers, 589 fishermen-farmers, 225 mechanics, 657 fishermen, 134 female fish-curers, 9 lumbermen, 52 factory workers, 521 miscellaneous; 77 fishing vessels, 4 bankers (88 men, 4,000 quintals catch), 52 Labrador schooners (27,788 quintals catch, 462 men, 124 women, 73 children), 279 nets and seines, 59 cod-traps, 686 quintals shore catch, 129 tierces salmon, 1,203 barrels herring, 14,319 gallons cod-oil, 546 tons seal-oil, 62,300 seals, \$176,905 fish products, 84 fishing rooms, 5 steamships, 89 sailing vessels, 402 boats; 2,435 acres occupied: 60 bushels wheat, 184 bushels oats, 846 tons hay, 17,778 barrels potatoes, 999 barrels turnips, 186 cabbages; 186 horses, 224 cows, 544 sheep, 517 swine, 283 goats, 4,284 fowl. 1921: 5 clergymen, 23 teachers, 1 doctor, 26 merchants, 59 office and shop workers, 24 government employees, 29 farmers, 134 fishermen-farmers, 126 mechanics, 134 fishermen, 64 female fish-curers, 3 lumbermen, 22 miners, 62 factory workers, 238 miscellaneous.

Names. Adams, Andrews, Archibald, Ash (1732), Babb, Barnes, Bray, (Careen, 1750), Comby, Crane, Crocker, Davis (1697), Dooley, Dove, Edwards, Farrell, Fleming, Freeman, French, Garland (1698), Granville, Haire, Hunt, Janes, O'Keefe, O'Neill, Parmiter, Parsons (1755), Pike (1697), (Moreen, 1750), Pynn (1697), Quinn, Reddy, Rose, Shea, O'Brien, Sheppard (1755), Sinyard, Simmons, Smallcombe, Snow (1755), Stapleton, Stevenson (Stretton, 1785), Tetford, Thomey (1770), Thomas, Walsh, Williams, Windsor, Yetman.

Miscellaneous. In Harbour Grace, Robert Hayman wrote *Quodlibets* (1628), the earliest book in English written in the New World.

Carbonear

Nomenclature. Carbonera (1612), Carbonar (c. 1630), Carbonere (1669).

Fr. *charbon*—charcoal. *Charbonnier* is a common name in France for a place where the charcoal industry was practised and also as a family name. Hence three possibilities for its origin: (a) a place name transferred from France, (b) a family name of French settlers in the district, (c) the site of a charcoal industry.

Site. Carbonear is the chief settlement on the North Shore of Conception Bay. It stretches along the northern shore of a bay, the chief visible feature of which is Carbonear Island. The shores of the bay are steep, and from them rise high hills. There are numerous wharves and piers along the waterfront, and the town has regular sea communications with other Newfoundland ports. It is 79 miles by rail, or 72 miles by road, to St. John's. "The number, respectability, and continuity of the houses . . . made up a scene very different from the desolation which . . . he had imagined of Newfoundland. It was early summer, too, fields and gardens and potato-patches mapped out the sides of the hills which formed an amphitheatre around the long lake-like harbour" (Gosse, 1827).

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th to 17th century; English settlers c. 1650; Island fortified, 1679; in 1677 the settlement had 14 dwellings, 11 planters, 9 wives, 15 sons, 20 daughters, 107 fishery servants, 25 boats, 79 cattle, 22 sheep, 48 hogs, 12 gardens; raided by French, 1696; 25 ships sailing (mostly) from Bristol, 1700; town burnt by French, \$200,000 damage, 1705; justices and constables, 1730; garrisoned, 1745; Catholics fined for attending mass, 1755; captured by the French, 1762; riots in the 'Winter of the Rals,' 1816; school, 1825; rise of the Labrador and seal fisheries with 70 vessels, 1827; fishermen's strike, 1832; circulating library, c. 1830; newspaper, 1833; commercial society, 1834; election riots, 1840; grammar school, 1843; fire, 1860; riots, 1862; literary institute, 1880; masonic lodge, 1909.

Population. 161 (1674), 220 (1697), 345 (1700), 327 (1730), 222 English and 400 Irish servants (1753), 2,500 (1828), 4,808 (1857), 4,127 (1891), 3,201 (1921), 3,472 (1945), 3,351 (1951).

Religion. 698 C. of E., 2,361 R.C., 1,748 Wesleyan, 1 Kirk (1857); 710 C. of E., 1,573 R.C., 1,748 Meth., 10 Kirk, 86 S.A. (1891); 560 C. of E., 1,045 R.C., 1,592 U.C., 1 Kirk, 256 S.A. 14 Pentecostal (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 4 clergymen, 3 doctors and lawyers, 17 farmers, 67 mechanics, 18 merchants, 2,043 fishermen-curers, 1,231 fishermen. 1891: 3 clergymen, 15 teachers, 2 doctors, 14 merchants, 47 office- and shop-workers, 12 government employees, 5 farmers, 906 fishermen-farmers, 71 mechanics, 586 fishermen, 176 female fish-curers, 216 miscellaneous; 45 fishing vessels, 4 bankers (58 men, 1,860 quintals catch), 41 Labrador schooners (32,316 quintals catch, 512 men, 118 women, 101 children), 611 nets and seines, 91 cod-traps, 616 quintals shore catch, 416 tierces salmon, 4,734 barrels herring, 18,769 gallons cod-oil, 1 ton seal-oil, 60 seals, \$67,913 fish products; 78 fishing rooms, 49 sailing vessels, 377 boats, 1 vessel built; 1,351 acres cultivated: 10 bushels wheat, 109 bushels oats, 548 tons hay, 10,150 barrels potatoes, 195

barrels turnips, 191,000 cabbages; 133 horses, 159 cows, 297 sheep, 297 swine, 532 goats, 4,407 fowl. 1921: 7 clergymen, 32 teachers, 1 doctor, 19 merchants, 60 office- and shop-workers, 14 government employees, 26 farmers, 140 fishermen-farmers, 67 mechanics, 259 fishermen, 100 female fish-curers, 10 miners, 277 miscellaneous.

Names. Abbott, Ash (1732), Brookings, Burden, Bursey, Butt, Chubbs, Clarke, Cavanagh, Crawford, Davies, Earle, Finn, Forward, Fraize, French, Fursey, Garland (1729), Gear, George, Gillespie, Griffin, Harris, Hayter, Hiscock, Hogan, Hopkins, Howell, Janes, Jerrett, Kennedy, Laing, Marshall, Moore, Murray, Mutrey, Nicholl, Oates, O'Keefe, O'Leary, Parsons, Penney, Pike, Pilgrim, Powell, Rodgers, Rowe, Rorke, Shea, Slade, Southwell, Sweeney, Taylor, Tizzard, Tracey, Udell, White.

Miscellaneous. "Carbonear was once a town of great commercial importance. . . [its merchants] at one time owned the greatest proportion of the landed property in the town of Poole, Dorset" (Tocque, 1877).

"On the first Sunday afternoon at Carbonear, Philip Gosse, feeling much at a loss for occupation, went boldly into the parlour and asked Mr. Elson to lend him a book. He was very kind, entered into conversation with the lad regarding recent literature, and lent him at once two works which were still fresh to the world of readers, *The Fortunes of Nigel* and the first series of the collected *Essays of Elia*. As at home in England, so even in Newfoundland, in that fortunate age for authors, there was a book-club in every town of any consequence. Of the Carbonear book-club, Mr. Elson was the president and librarian. . . . New books were bought but once a year, when a solemn meeting of members was held in the parlour, and the purchase of volumes was voted. Of course there was the usual large proportion of novels, of which Gosse became a great devourer. Most of Scott, Bulwer's, Cooper's, Galt's, and the *O'Hara* series were to be found at Carbonear within a year of their publication in London. Biography, poetry, travels, and even science were very fairly represented, and the basis of a sound knowledge of contemporary literature could be, and was, formed in this remote harbour of Newfoundland" (Gosse, 1827).

Bay de Verde

Nomenclature. B. Verde (c. 1630), Bay of Ards (1663), Bay of Veares (1674-5), Bay of Vards (1677), Bay of Ardes (1681), Bay of Verds (1682), Baye Ver (1697), Bay of Verdes (1705), Bay de Verds (1722), Bay de Verd (1730).

The name appears to have been originally a Portuguese imposition. Port. *verde*—green.

Site. The village is perched on the eastern shore of a bay near the extreme tip of the headland separating Conception and Trinity bays. It is 109 miles by road to St. John's. "A wild desert place, composed entirely of bare red grit-stone" (Jukes, 1842).

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th to 17th century; English residents, c. 1650; in 1677 it had 8 dwellings, 8 planters, 4 wives, 2 sons, 9 daughters, 109 fishery servants, 20 boats, 1 sheep, 36 hogs, 11 gardens. by French, who found "fourteen houses and about ninety men," and

85 *hommes*, 1697; 5 ships sailing from West Country and Jersey ports, 1700; raided by French, 1705; visited by Lieut. Williams, 1745; 69 English, 59 Irish servants, 1753; bait-freezer, 1894.

Population. 132 (1674), 85 (1697), 111 (1700), 142 (1730), 584 (1857), 644 (1891), 866 (1921), 873 (1945), 876 (1951).

Religion. 311 C. of E., 273 R.C. (1857); 299 C. of E., 343 R.C., 2 Meth. (1891); 428 C. of E., 419 R.C., 5 U.C. 19 other (1945).

Occupation and Economy. 1857: 1 clergyman, 4 merchants, 327 fishermen-curers, 208 fishermen. 1891: 2 clergymen, 186 fishermen-farmers, 1 mechanic, 213 fishermen, 136 female fish-curers, 4 shop-workers; 2 fishing vessels, 2 Labrador schooners (573 quintals catch, 20 men), 215 nets and seines, 25 cod-traps, 1 lobster factory (13 men), 500 lobster traps, 4,526 quintals shore catch, 63 tierces salmon, 133 barrels herring, 2,707 gallons cod-oil, \$26,197 fish-products, 20 fishing rooms, 3 sailing vessels, 69 boats; 155 acres cultivated: 15 tons hay, 741 barrels potatoes, 188 barrels turnips; 16 horses, 7 cows, 5 sheep, 106 swine, 303 fowl. 1921: 2 clergymen, 3 teachers, 5 merchants, 4 office-workers, 3 government employees, 79 fishermen-farmers, 246 fishermen, 151 female fish-curers, 1 factory worker, 16 miscellaneous.

Names. Barter, Blundon, Broadus, Coish, (Dethick, 1663), Doyle, Emberley, Jacobs, Keats, Keyes, Lockyer, Moore, Murphy, Noonan, Norris, North, Riggs, Sutton, Walsh, Woodrow.

Miscellaneous. Famous for their fishing enterprise, Bay de Verde men now provide much of the inshore-catch used in the Harbour Grace fresh-fish plant.

Old Perlican

Nomenclature. Parlican (1597), Pernecam (1612), Parlican (c. 1630). New Perlican occurs as Little Pernocam (?) (1669) and as New Perlican (1675).

Name of a ship (?).

Site. The village is situated on the south shore of Trinity Bay, around the tip of the cape which separates Trinity Bay from Conception Bay. It is approached by sea between two points $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles apart, divided by an island. The settlement is at the head of the bay. It is 106 miles by road from St. John's and 34 miles from Carbonear.

History. Resort of European and English fishermen, 16th to 17th century; English settlers, c. 1650; in 1677 it had 16 dwellings, 13 planters, 9 wives, 9 sons, 8 daughters, 167 fishery servants, 35 boats, 14 stages, 22 cattle, 3 sheep, 29 hogs, 12 gardens; raided by French who found "nineteen houses, several stores and more than thirty head of horned cattle, and a number of sheep and pigs," and 130 men, 1697; 5 ships sailing from London and Poole, 1700; raided by French, 1705; justices and constables, 1730; trade with Poole and Waterford, 1763; Methodist Mission, 1765.

Population. 204 (1674), 130 (1697), 225 (1700), 302 (1730), 100 English and 166 Irish servants (1753), 250 (1781), 792 (1857), 860 (1891), 900 (1921), 693 (1945).

Religion. 220 C. of E., 30 Meth. (1781); 1 C. of E., 47 R.C., 744 Wesleyan (1857); 6 C. of E., 22 R.C., 832 Meth. (1891); 5 C. of E., 14 R.C., 672 U.C. (1945).

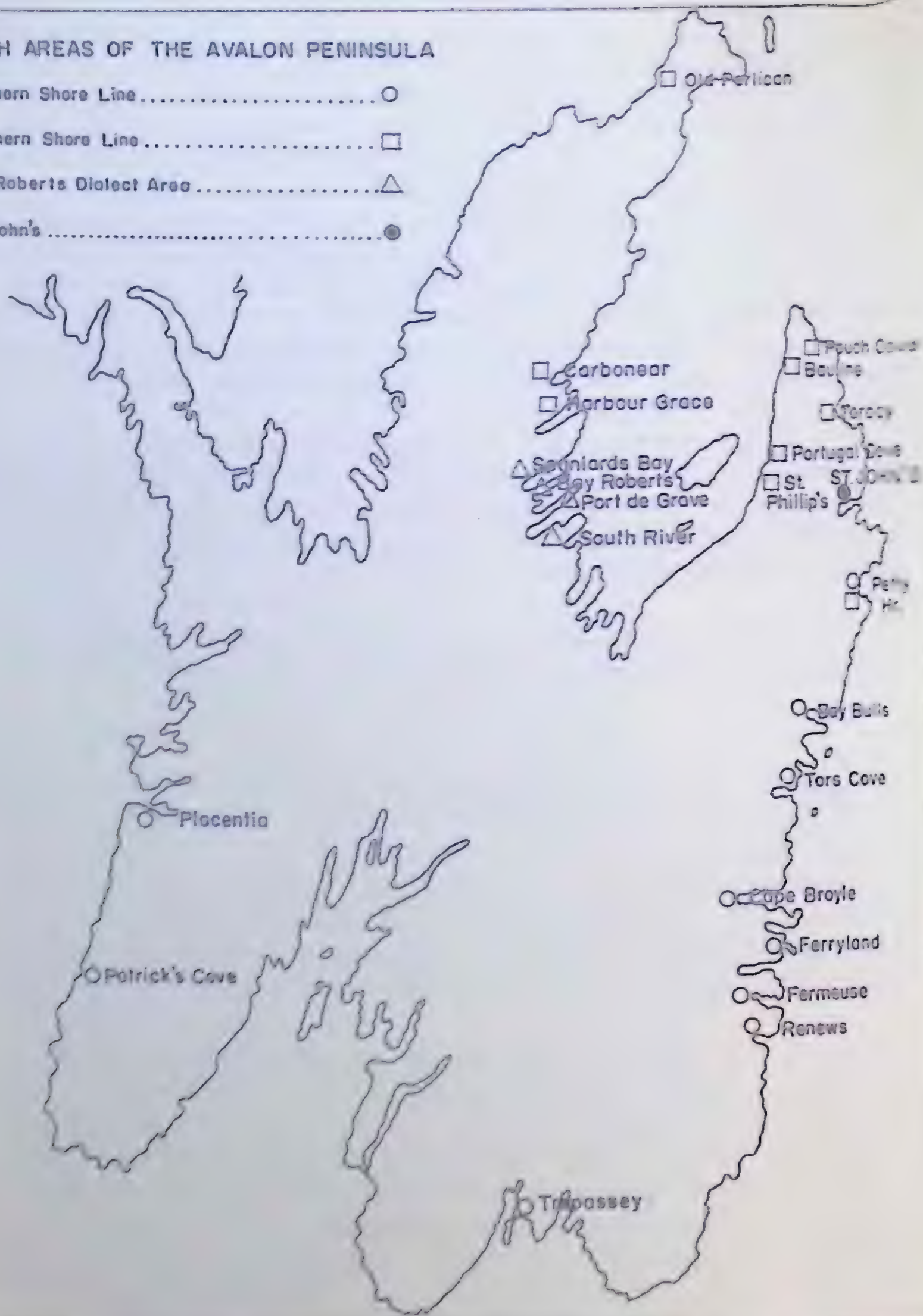
Occupation and Economy. 1857: 1 clergyman, 2 mechanics, 5 merchants, 349 fishermen-curers, 167 fishermen, 45 lumbermen. 1891: 1 clergyman, 1 teacher, 1 doctor, 1 mechanic, 4 shop workers, 1 government employee, 416 fishermen-farmers, 237 fishermen, 111 female fish-curers, 10 miners, 17 miscellaneous; 4 fishing vessels, 18 bank fishermen, 3 Labrador schooners (690 quintals catch, 87 men), 146 nets and seines, 16 cod-traps, 688 quintals shore catch, 19 tierces salmon, 1,885 gallons cod-oil, \$5,618 fish-products, 38 fishing-rooms, 4 sailing vessels, 77 boats; 195 acres occupied: 107 tons hay, 2,290 barrels potatoes, 300 barrels turnips, 54 horses, 39 cows, 95 sheep, 98 swine, 175 fowl. 1921: 1 clergyman, 7 teachers, 9 merchants, 11 office- and shop-workers, 9 government employees, 2 farmers, 183 fishermen-farmers, 8 mechanics, 213 fishermen, 136 female fish-curers, 3 factory workers, 37 miscellaneous.

Names. Adams, Barnes, Barrett, Beckett, Brookings, Bursey, Burt (1792) Button, Cramm, Day, Froude, Green, Hopkins, Howell, March, Mills, Pike, Rodgers, Squires, Strong, Tizzard.

Miscellaneous. "Old Perlican . . . had been settled mostly by Englishmen, from rural districts, but few of whom could read. . . . They called themselves churchmen, because their forefathers had attended the Episcopal church in England. . . . Nothing could better the condition of these people but the gospel" (A Methodist missionary, referring to conditions in 1774).

SPEECH AREAS OF THE AVALON PENINSULA

- Southern Shore Line.....○
- Northern Shore Line.....□
- Bay Roberts Dialect Area.....△
- St. John's.....●



MAP FIG. 4—Speech areas of the Avalon Peninsula

PART III:
THE DIALECTS

INTRODUCTION

Interviews with informants on the Avalon Peninsula have begun to furnish data which will help to define the dialect areas. "A Newfoundland Dialect Questionnaire; Avalon Peninsula; 1. Vocabulary" (see Appendix V, p. 108) elicited vocabulary items and pronunciation, transcribed phonetically according to the principles of the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*.¹ In addition, depending on the friendliness of the families which were visited, additional words, phrases, comments, and pronunciations were frequently noted down. Fishermen in Torbay, Pouch Cove, Old Perlican, and Lower Island Cove were willing to be recorded on tape, responding to questions or narrating at will. The interpretations to follow are based on these interviews and tape-recordings.

Perhaps too much has been made of the 'isolated communities' along the coastline even of the relatively populous Avalon Peninsula. If the roads until recently have not provided easy access between the settlements, the bays from late spring through the fall are most efficient highways for people, many of whom have fished from childhood. Influences on the dialects of the Avalon Peninsula, therefore, have resulted from the kinds of contacts that have been made on the bays and the sea.

These influences are indicated most clearly in the evidence of vocabulary, but widespread knowledge of clusters of vocabulary items is a good sign of people influencing each other also in their pronunciation. The following types of nautical contacts were perceived during the interviewing:

1. The fishermen took their boats only a few miles from their settlement.
2. The families moved to the Labrador every year, and caught and 'made' their fish between May and October.
3. The men went on ships from St. John's and Carbonear to hunt seals in March and April, before the summer fishing season.
4. The men fished on the Grand Banks.
5. The men worked on fishing- and other sea-going vessels out of New England ports.

The annual seal-hunt and the Labrador fishery have exerted the most generalizing influence on the dialects, insuring that certain terms are widely known and employed, and diffusing stories, sayings, ordinary idioms, grammatical forms, specific pronunciations of words, and, possibly, phonetic qualities. Informants in Pouch Cove, Torbay, Bay Roberts, Cape Broyle, Bay Bulls, Ferryland, Blow-me-Down, and Portugal Cove went on the seal-hunt, that is, 'went to the ice.' The following are lexical items used by single informants or

¹Kurath, H., *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*, 122-46.

by several when describing the seal-hunt. (In the following lists hyphenation indicates that the first element is stressed: 'Pouch-Cove, 'dog-cat; separation indicates that the second element receives stress: Black 'Head, moll 'dow, 'mogue. Though some of these spellings disagree with printed conventions, the practice in this report will explicitly reveal the stress in speech.)

Sealing Terms

the seal-hunt		swoils (pron. varies)	'seals'
the seal-fishery		flippers	
carcasses		hind skunners,	
our Marconi	'wireless'	hinders	'part of seal'
dog-hood	'kind of seal'	made one spring to the ice	
bitch-hood	'kind of seal'	strike the main patch	
pup	'kind of seal'	get a berth to go	
young hood	'kind of seal'	they give you a fit-out	
old harp	'kind of seal'	sculp the swoil	
white-coat	'kind of seal'	sculpin-tow	
bedlamer	'kind of seal'	on the Gulf	
jumper	'porpoise'	make the second-best kill	
grampus		ice-claws	

The Labrador Fishery

(Informants came from South River, Bay Roberts, Pouch Cove, Renewa, Carbonear.)

planters		bulge-way	
liviers		nose-rope	
stationers on the Labrador		horse it out	
kommatik	'small sled'	ven of the fish	
Labra'dor-fish		nip of the fish	
Labra'dor-men		go dun	'become spoiled'
premises [pri-]		gullidge	'water-barrel'
schooner		gib [gib]	'take gill out'
on the bawn	'the rocky shore'	till	'box for salt'
flat rocks		bus	'a profit'
beach-rock		scotch cure	
canopies		pip out	v.
bark v.	'tar'	billet of wood	
barkin-pot		nik	adj.
cutch		two-fork prong	
cod-bags		horse-cat	
keefes	'real huskies'	sheave into the rocks	
clifty land		trouncer	
brichins	'cod-roes'	burn fish up in the sun	
bully	'20-quintal boat'	dingle	
jacks	'boats for 3-4 men'	tag a blow	

The preliminary description of the dialect areas of the Avalon Peninsula proposed below is largely based on the sound-systems noted in the speech of the informants. Additional data drawn from the grammar, lexicon, and syntax

have been examined and utilized in the delimiting of dialects, but many of these incidentally collected details require more intensive comparative study.

The dialect areas so far noted will be called the Southern Shoreline, the Northern Shoreline, Bay Roberts, and St. John's. These designations are in some ways arbitrary because they are meant to apply to particular patterns of speech habits rather than to specific geographic localities. Where a stretch of coastline was settled by people of identical ethnic and religious origin, the dialect can be described geographically. But where settlements contain mixed population or where neighbouring harbours were developed by disparate groups, the dialects correlate rather with religious and ethnic background than with a locality that can be marked with a boundary.

Although the sounds of these dialects are described as if they were unvarying, it must be noted that stylistic or free variation does exist in the pronunciation of many of the vowels. One explanation might be that the speakers aim for greater clarity or formality by employing the vowels of more cultivated speakers, often echoing the standard pronunciation of a word. Conversely, when the members of a family speak, the words and phrases are considerably contracted. In this informal communication the dialect variants described below are employed with very high frequency.

THE SOUTHERN SHORELINE

A practically homogeneous dialect is spoken all along the southern shoreline of the Avalon Peninsula. This line of settlements includes the southern shore from Petty Harbour to Trepassey, St. Mary's Bay and the east side of Placentia Bay as far north as Placentia.¹

The earlier generations of these settlements primarily came from Ireland, have belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, and have attended Roman Catholic schools. The following description of the phonological system generally to be heard in this area is valid for the older generation of fishermen, men between sixty and eighty years of age.

The consonant phonemes, according to our present interpretation, are as follows:

/p	t	t	č	k
b	d	d	j	g
f		s	š	
v		z	ž	
m		n		ŋ
	l			
	r			
w		y		h/ ²

¹A field-worker interviewed formally and spent one or more days in Petty Harbour, Bay Bulls, Tors Cove, Cape Broyle, Ferryland, Fermeuse, Renew's, Daniel's Point (Trepassey), Patrick's Cove, P.B., and Placentia.

²See the publications related to the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, especially Kurath and McDavid, *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States*, p. 1-9. Very useful detailed descriptions of the phonetics of Anglo-Irish dialects can be found in J. J. Hogan, *The English Language in Ireland*; P. L. Henry, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon*; and Henry, "A Linguistic Survey of Ireland. Preliminary Report," *Lochlann*, I (1958), p. 49-208.

Since most members of these phonemes are identical with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) characters of the same form, they do not require further attention. The IPA uses [ʃ ʒ tʃ dʒ j] respectively for the central sounds of /š ž č ĵ y/. Some other phonemes deserve special attention.

/t/ It is still uncertain whether there is a physical or an audible difference between the phonemes /t/ and /t̪/. Until some detailed listening tests are carried out with native speakers and listeners, it is proposed that this dialect has a dental *t*, that is [t̪], in the positions where *th* is frequently written and many standard speakers pronounce [θ]. Not one case of an ambiguous sound misinterpreted as /t/ or /t̪/ has turned up in two and a half years of attentive listening.¹ All that can be said is that the pronunciations of /t/ do not clearly and distinctly sound like /t̪/, although this may result from the field-worker expecting to hear [θ].

/t/ Initially this is aspirated, and intervocalically it is a lenis stop: [t̪].

/d/ Parallel to /t/, /d/ is proposed as a dental *d*—[d̪]—in positions where many standard speakers pronounce *th* as [θ].

/l/ A clear, or alveolar, *l*—[l̪]—is generally used in all positions, even when neighbouring vowels are low or back. Besides the impressionistically noted rhythms and intonations of the dialect, this distinctive clear *l* is one of the prominent special qualities which identify the Southern Shoreline dialect and frequently, in addition, Newfoundlanders with diverse ethno-linguistic roots.

/r/ Initially, intervocalically, and after consonants /r/ is the retroflex glide used by standard speakers in much of North America: [ɻ]. After vowels and finally, the sound is clearly and strongly a retroflex *r*, as in [ɛɻ], [oɻ].

The vowel phonemes and diphthongs of stressed syllables, presented here in tabular form, require more thorough discussion.

/i/		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ə	o
ɛ	ʌ	
æ		a
	au	ai/

/i/ [i̯] A high front vowel with a slight glide:

[ʃi̯ləz] 'Sheila's'
[bri̯lz]
[tri̯] 'three'
[ˈwi̯l, bæro]

/ɪ/ [ɪ] A lower high front vowel in stressed syllables:

[mɪk]
[ˈkɪlək] 'home-made anchor'
[ˈbɪlɪzəd]
[ʃɪm] 'kitchen utensil'

In weakly stressed syllables and finally, this is a barred *i*, [ī̯], [ī̯] or even [e]:

[ˈdemər̄f̄] 'autumn storm'
[ˈbǣl̄, kǣ:əd̄z] 'coat of ice on rocks'

¹One pun was uttered by a young St. John's resident: "Like the horse takes the oats, he heaves the oaths out of him."

/e/ [eː e: ɛ] Considerable variety can be heard in this mid front vowel. Frequently it is lengthened and lowered, without a discernible rising glide. This phoneme appears in words spelled *a-e* or *ai* and typically in syllables spelled *ea*.

[ˈsteːɹdʒɪz]
 [ˈkeːplɪn]
 [ˈdreː ˌroːd]
 [beːl] ‘bail’
 [seɪnt]
 [ˈsteːmʊ]
 [heːtʰ] ‘heath’
 [leːk] ‘leak’
 [kəmˈpleːt]

/ɛ/ [ɛ] The lower mid front vowel is short and without noticeable variation. It appears frequently before following *r*, so that contrast between *ear* and *air* is lost.

[drɛdʒ]
 [sɛd]
 [sɪˈveːɹ] ‘severe’
 [ˈdreɪrɪʃ] ‘dreary’
 [pɛɹ] ‘pare’ once

/æ/ [æ] The lower front vowel is quite stable and uniform. It is short or only half-long and exhibits little tendency to be raised or nasalized. However, this, or possibly a slightly lower variety, is the nucleus when *r* follows. The nucleus is *r*-coloured, rather than with a following retroflexion. This phoneme appears in words with *-lm*, slightly longer and maybe with a glide, but no contrast of length exists in, say, *Sam* and *calm*.

[pætʰ]
 [dæt]
 [pænts]
 [læntʃ] ‘launch’ n.
 [ˈgrænːdæ]
 [kæːm] ‘calm’
 [pæːm] ‘palm’
 [ˈstærɪɡənz] ‘good firs for cutting’

/ɜ/ [ɜ̌ ɜː ɜːʷ ʌ̌ ɝ̌] The mid central retroflex vowel is universally used in stressed and unstressed syllables. A special quality audible in this vowel seems to result from a lowered or retracted position of the tongue, or maybe from a special configuration in the mouth: not always [ɜ̌], but [ɜː̌] and [ʌ̌] in words like *work*, *worm*, *turn*, *mother*, *glitter*. This lowered quality of the retroflexion also makes the dialect distinctive.

[hɜ̌ts] ‘blueberries’
 [bʌ̌n]
 [ˈfɜ̌kɪn] ‘firkin’
 [fɜ̌st] ‘first’
 [wɜ̌mz], [wɜ̌mz]
 [fɜ̌:]

/a/ [a aː ʌ ɔː] Since no lower back rounded vowel [ɔ:] is regular, many words with *o* and *au*, *aw* have low central vowels, often fronted and without appreciable contrast in length, even when final. However when the retracted sound [ɔ] is used, the quality is different from the widespread Canadian phoneme common to both *odd* and *awed*. This phoneme /a/ is the first element in the local diphthong /aɪ/. Furthermore, this is the vowel employed widely in words with *-or-* plus consonant. (Old place-name records indicate the age of this pronunciation by their phonetic spellings: *Tarrbay* (1677), *Tar Bay* (1709). But Tors Cove is [ˈtoɹˈsko:v] in the settlement, with syllable division before or after [s] uncertain.)

[raks]
[frɔst]
[bag]
[paɪnd]
[dra:ɹ]
[ˈtrɔ:lɪn]
[ˈlɔŋgəz] ‘rails in fence’
[nɔɹˈtʃ] ‘north’
[ˈlɔɹˈdz ,koʊv] ‘Lord’s Cove’
[krɔs]
[ˈwɔːtʃ ,hɔɹˈs]

/ʌ/ [ʌ ɒ] The lower mid central vowel has a tendency to be rounded, giving the impression of being retracted toward [ɔ] or raised toward [u].

[skrʌb]
[gvɪvɪn] ‘stomach of cod’
[ˌmæŋ ˈʌp] ‘snack’
[pæmp]
[gæt]
[gæmps] ‘posts on wharf’

/o/ [o: ɔ: ɔʊ] The mid back vowel generally does not have a clear glide toward [u]. Instead the [o] is likely to be lengthened and often considerably lowered. Thus the lowered /e/ and /o/ of the dialect are two elements of the vowel system which set it off from cultivated speech and other dialects.

[ho:]
[ˈbæro]
[ˈpɔːzɪz] ‘dandelion flowers’
[ˈkæmədoɹ]
[ˈdo: ,bɔɪz] ‘dumplings’

/u/ [u u] The lower high back vowel occasionally is heard in a higher position, closer to [u], but short and without glide, as in the exclamation [luk] ending a sentence.

[ˈfʊt ,pæt]
[ˈlʊkɪn]
[brʊˈk]

/u/ [uʌ] The high back vowel begins with [u] (sometimes even lower) and glides to a higher position while the lips become more rounded.

[dʒuʌ] 'due'
 [pjuʌ] 'fish-fork'
 ['keɪp]ɪn ,skʌ] 'caplin school'
 [ri: 'njuʌz] 'Renews'

/aɪ/ [vɛɪ v ɛ a ɛe ʌɪ] The diphthongs which glide to the high front position are at present apparently unstable. Depending on his contact with speakers of varieties of standard English, a resident of this area may consciously distinguish between [aɪ] and [ɔɪ]. Or he may have an intermediary vowel for the first element and sound as if he is exchanging the two standard diphthongs, seeming to say *toy* for *tie*, and vice versa. There may be other complexities and conditions of variation which will be discovered in the future.

The diphthong /aɪ/ begins with some low back vowel and glides to a front and high position. The first element is very often lengthened and rounded. If a voiceless consonant follows, the diphthong may be shorter and somewhat raised, but *vise* and *voice*, *kite* and *quoit* are apparently homophonous. In conversation a contrast between *tie/toy*, *buy/boy*, *I'll/oil* is hardly perceptible. When speakers are pressed to distinguish the pairs, the sounds approach the cultivated forms [aɪ] and [ɔɪ].

[sɪvɛɪdz] 'sleds'
 [pɔɪnts] 'points'
 ['baɪ ,pæɪt] 'by-path'
 ['tɔɪpən ,taɪm]
 [kɔɪt] 'quoit'
 ['ræm ,pɛɪk] 'dead, standing tree'
 [hɔɪst]
 ['ɔɪnɔɪz] 'autumn storms'
 [ɪvɛɪ] 'a lie'

/aʊ/ [aʊ vɔʊ aʊ aʊ] The retracting diphthong begins with a low central vowel, sometimes raised, and glides to a high back position, with accompanying rounding of the lips.

['grɛʊ]ʒɪz 'small ice-bergs'
 ['raʊndɔɪ] 'small cod'
 ['sa:ʊɔɪ]
 ['straʊtɔɪz] 'posts under front of fishing stage'
 ['bɛʊ ,fents]

Lexicon and Grammar

A clear-cut boundary around key lexical and grammatical items is not so discernible as one demarcating pronunciation. Terminology relating to fishing is widespread, and vocabulary relating to the weather, social affairs, the household, and chores has not yet revealed areas of concentration or complete absence. The following items are found only in the field-records of the Southern Shoreline but may occur in only a few settlements or in the future may be found to extend beyond the boundary indicated by the phonological system.

ground skurry
 to credit ?
 demmery 'autumn storm'
 a come-'up
 gulvin
 bivin 'bailing bucket'
 palace 'priest's house'
 stale race 'small stream'
 goulef ['guʌ,ɫɛf]
 heath-berries [heɫtʃ]
 skinnin the old cow
 scotch-mist
 brass dead-eye
 pinnacles
 shortlers 'kind of fence'?
 buds (of frankum)
 dead-cat

sneezers
 gap 'gate'
 tangly 'describes bad weather'
 frozy
 morgens 'mummers'
 Sheilya
 playin duck
 pitchin quoit [kvɫt]
 The Wran
 deegan
 bough fence
 race 'generation'
 Satan [ˈsætɪn]
 sloe tree ?
 double suds, sods
 barm (two syllables)
 east 'yeast'

As for grammar, a small number of forms were noted in the informants' conversations. It is strongly suspected that some of these items have a wider distribution outside the Southern Shoreline, but they will be noted here.

he swum
 he bet (pret. of *beat*)
 it tuck 'took'
 haves sg.
 clear a few years 'except for a'

it riz up; riz bread
 me 'my'
 [hɪz] 'his'
 be 'by' prep.

THE NORTHERN SHORELINE

The dialect here called 'Northern Shoreline' is spoken in certain towns and settlements of Conception Bay, the east coast of Trinity Bay, and around St. John's. Although the following description includes the general and striking features of the pronunciation, it is not possible to say that Northern Shoreline is obviously unified as the developed Anglo-Irish of the Southern Shoreline. Many small variations of the vowel, consonant, and intonation patterns can be heard in the speakers. In general, however, this account presents the phonological framework to be perceived in the older residents of much of Conception Bay.¹

Most of the informants have Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army, or other Protestant affiliation. Family names and information volunteered by the families usually point to origins in England, frequently the western or southern coast. Negatively, it can be stated that the marked Anglo-Irish qualities of the Southern Shoreline are not present in the speech of the Northern Shoreline.

The speech here called Northern Shoreline is distinctive because of the following features.

¹A field-worker interviewed speakers in Petty Harbour, Torbay, Pouch Cove, Bauline, Portugal Cove, St. Philips, Carbonear, and Old Perlican. Tapes were obtained in Torbay, Pouch Cove, Lower Island Cove, and Old Perlican. Further incidental information has been gained from former residents of Spout Cove and many other points.

1. Besides the universal glide [r], retroflex vowels occur in words like *Carbonear, partridge, hurt, north, cured*. In unstressed positions, as in *liners*, retroflexion is present in some communities, replaced by [ə] in others.
2. The distribution of [h] usually conforms to cultivated practice in Received Standard English and mainland North American English. For some speakers it may drop out within phrases: *wood-'orse*.
3. Except in certain mixed speech between Clarke's Beach and Carbonear, the low front vowel is [æ] in words like *cast, after* and *can't*. No stable [a] is employed between [æ] and [a].

The consonant system is either identical with the standard phonemic contrasts of much of the English-speaking world, or lacks the /θ/ and /ð/:

/p		t	č	k
b		d	j	g
f	(θ)	s	š	
v	(ð)	z	ž	
m		n		ŋ
		l		
		r		
w		y		h/

With the following exceptions, most of the consonants are close to the International Phonetic Alphabet equivalents.

/t/ Besides [t'], [t], and intervocalic lenis [t̪] and glottalized t's that occur, many speakers pronounce a variety of t where standard spelling would have *th*. Detailed listening tests will eventually prove whether these varieties are alveolar or dental—[t] or [t̪]. At present we believe that most of the speakers of the dialect employ their ordinary /t/ for *th* (unless of course mixing with speakers of the Southern Shoreline has allowed the dental /t/ to be borrowed, as with the Torbay informant). To state the point in simple terms, the outsider feels that there is a substitution of one sound for another—[t] for [θ]—rather than a strangely pronounced sound—[t̪].

['wintəʔtən]	'Winterton'
[əʔtəʔ]	'at all'
['glit̪ə]	'rain freezing on trees, posts'
[biʔaʔt̪ik]	'Beothuk, name of ship'
['tam ,kad]	'small cod'
[tri̪]	'three'

/d/ In a fashion similar to /t/, [d] is believed to do service for both standard [d] and [ð]. This is especially prevalent in the many quickly spoken phrases and words like *to the, in that, father, mother*.

['pʌʔdik]	'stomach of cod'
[we̪di̪ 'bʌk̪ti̪]	'see-saw'
['mʌdə]	'mother'

/l/ Varieties of l exist in this dialect. Speakers employ dark [ɫ] finally, as a syllabic and in the neighbourhood of low and back vowels. The clear [l] appears

close to high front vowels (and occasionally elsewhere as in Southern Shoreline).

[skʌʃ]	'arrival of caplin'
[ʃoʊʔ rak]	'shoal-rock'
[le:ʔdʃ]	
[driβəl]	'small stream'
[kiʔik]	'home-made anchor'
[tiʔiʔʌ]	'amount added to what is purchased'

/r/ The frictionless [r] appears initially and intervocalically. Furthermore, a central or raised retroflex vowel is widespread, and *r*-colouring is clearly present after other vowels. There are some tendencies to lower [iʔ] and [uʔ] to [ɛʔ] and [oʔ]. /æʔ/ includes varieties like [æʔ], [aʔ], and [ɐʔ].

[hwʊʔf]	
[gɛʔ: ʔ]	'gear'
[hʔts]	'blueberries'
[vaʔʔ]	'fir'
[beʔdiʔvʔd]	'Bay de Verde'
[baʔ:ʔnz]	'barrens'
[oʔ]	'oar'
[reʔnz]	'pieces of bark'
[stʊʔ: ʔm]	
[bʔʔg]	

Speakers in Carbonear, Torbay, Pouch Cove, and Bauline also employ unaccented [ə], sometimes in free variation with [ɐ].

[bʌtə]
[stre:ndʒəʔ]
[blædəz]

Some time in the past, length in low front vowels (or lowering to [a]) was reinterpreted as retroflexion. In one of the Carbonear informants and others (as in some Nova Scotia speech) *r*-colouring appears in this sort of word:

[aʔ ftʔ, æʔ —]

This may account for [ʃʔkæʔ go] 'Chicago,' which occurs very frequently among young cultivated speakers.

Further inquiry will probably uncover much greater sub-phonemic diversity among the vowels than in the vowel phonemes of Southern Shoreline. The phonemic distinctions follow:

/i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ɔ	o
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
æ	a	
	aʊ	aɪ (əɪ) /

(A few speakers do have a lengthened allophone [a:] in some words: [fra:nsis].)

The short vowels /i ɛ æ ʊ a/ are usually close to their IPA qualities. The vowel /i/ may be high before /n/; /u/ may be raised; and /ʌ/ often has the retracted, rounded sound noted in Southern Shore. Diphthongal glides are

customary with /i/ and /u/, though often beginning from a quite low position, but a frequent variation in /e/ and /o/ is a centring glide [e̞̠] and [o̞̠] except when final, instead of a rising glide [e̞̠̠], [o̞̠̠].

[ste̞̠ts] 'States'
[læbrə 'do̞̠t̞̠]
['kɛ̞̠plɪn]

Back and low vowels /ɔ/ and /a/ are distinctly in contrast, with the latter sometimes forward: [a̞̠]. /or/ appears finally, as in [sto:̞̠̠], but when /r/ and a consonant occur, the vowel is very low and might be /ɔr/ or /ar/, as they are frequently indistinguishable:

[stɔ̞̠̠m]
[wa̞̠̠m]

Finally, the diphthongs of this dialect, /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, offer many shades and differences of initial vowel. Sometimes the initial sound is centred to [ɐ] or [ɔ], and other speakers front the first part of the second diphthong to [æ̞̠] and [ɛ̞̠]. Contrasts between /ɔɪ/ and aɪ/ are few, and frequently the lowered type is the only one employed.

['grɛ̞̠ɪl̞̠] 'ice-berg'
[fɪt 'ɛ̞̠t̞̠] 'out-fit'
[mɔ̞̠l̞̠ 'dɛ̞̠t̞̠] 'lichen on trees'
[ɔ̞̠l̞̠] 'oil'
[bɔ̞̠̠d̞̠] 'boiled'
[tɔ̞̠̠] 'tie'

THE BAY ROBERTS DIALECT

A type of speech, contrasting with the Southern and Northern Shorelines and heard from many speakers in the cluster of settlements along the southwest side of Conception Bay, perhaps from South River to Carbonear, is here named 'Bay Roberts Dialect' for simple convenience. The term should not be understood to signify that Bay Roberts is the source or the principal settlement where the dialect is spoken. Although several informants are Anglican, the dialect seems to be spoken also by members of the other denominations in the area, for example by a United Churchman interviewed in Bay Roberts. The many populous, ancient settlements along the southwest side of the bay deserve more intensive study to discover the extent, location, and varieties of Northern Shoreline and Bay Roberts Dialect in the area.¹

The consonant system is in some respects similar to those of the other Avalon dialects. Words with *th*-, we suspect, employ the consonants /t/ and /d/, rather than the Southern Shoreline dental stops. /l/ is dark in most situations, but can be clear when conditioned by high front vowels. The /r/ and the /h/ are the special consonants deserving detailed treatment.

Indeed, it may be questionable to include /h/ as a phoneme in this dialect. The verbal habits of the speakers indicate that [h] is like the initial pre-vocalic glottal stop in much cultivated English or the linking -r in some speakers of

¹Informants in Bay Roberts, Blow-me-Down, South River, and Spaniard's Bay speak the dialect which is described here.

England and eastern New England. That is, [h] is an instance of sandhi, which we believe appears systematically before vowels introducing syllables, and is conditioned by the type of preceding phoneme, a preceding juncture or, possibly, stylistic factors such as emphasis. Clearly, speakers of this dialect follow habits which are utterly unrelated to the *h*'s and simple vowels which appear in English spelling. Instead, spelling frequently follows the speech, so that *has* /*as*, *is* /*his*, and many other forms are confused by writers. The following selected examples illustrate some of the contexts where [h] is present or absent.

[bluʊ 'hʒʌt]	'blueberry'
[kæptɪn 'abz]	'Captain Hobbs'
about [heɪt]	'about eight'
[də 'hæɪs]	'the ice'
[wɔtə 'hɔs]	'water horse'
[ɔl 'ændz]	'all hands'
['a:də]	'harder'
[jʌŋ 'ud]	'young hood' (seal)
[foʊə 'ænz]	'four hands'
['hæŋkə]	'anchor'
[di ʌʊld 'a:bə]	'the old harbour'
old [ʔʌt]	'old hut'
from [a:bə 'greɪs]	'from Harbour Grace'
Chelsea, Heverett	...
[æt 'ænd]	'at hand'
[ɪ]	'he', beginning sentences
ever ['ɜ:d]	'ever heard'

The frictionless glide /r/ appears initially, intervocalically, and occasionally linking words. But except in speakers of mixed dialects the retroflexion does not appear with vowels or as a strong- or weak-stressed syllabic. This pattern makes the dialect resemble Received Standard and eastern New England speech, and sets it off from the customary dialects indigenous to the Avalon Peninsula.

[roʊd]	
[fɜː, va:ʒ]	'fir'
[sɛʊə]	'sour'
[stɔːmz]	'storms'
[flɔɪz]	'flurries'
['glɪtə]	
[ɜ:t]	'hurt, blueberry'
[tɜːn]	'load of wood'
[bɜːst]	
[læbədɔː]	'Labrador'
[pæː, 'pa:trɪdʒ]	
[pɔɪt]	'porch'
['siː, sɔːrɪn]	'see-sawing'

The other unique feature of this dialect is an extra low front vowel /a/ in certain words. As yet, no minimal pairs have been discovered which display /æ/ and /a/ in obvious contrast, but items like *man's:trans(-Canada)* indicate that the lowered vowel is not automatically conditioned. Some speakers of

Northern Shoreline use /a/ in some words also, and a very few cases of a lengthened [a:], with Received Standard quality, have been noticed. (The long low central vowel is otherwise virtually never heard in Newfoundland speech.) The following words may appear with [a:] in Bay Roberts Dialect:

bath	
path	answer
Catholic	calf
wrath	staff
Patrick's	gaff
aunt	rafters
dance	glass
Francis	cast, forecast
calm	pasture
palm	master
trans-Canada	disaster
launch	fast to
can't	last

Both Northern Shoreline and Bay Roberts dialects contrast with Southern Shoreline in one inflectional detail, which, once noticed, becomes increasingly interesting to the student of the history and structure of English. Descendants of settlers from western England in Conception Bay (even a ten-year-old boy in Brigus) can be observed to substitute 'n ([ən] or [n]) for *him* or *it*. Once this object pronoun, which immediately suggests *hine* of Old English, is accepted as more than a mispronunciation, it raises the possibility that the widespread use of pronoun forms whose grammar at first seems erratic—*she*, *her*, *he*—actually indicates categories of grammatical gender, which must be nicely observed in subsequent studies. Here it can be stated that the Anglo-Irish speakers would only use such forms in jocular imitation, never naturally, and the older generation of Conception Bay employ them with great ease (and, we suspect, system). Here are some examples:

puncheon tub . . . he
 school . . . top ceiling . . . he was only one storey high
 he left we in school
 door open . . . wide as we could get 'n . . . and
 put a rock agin the door so't he
 wouldn't go to
 school master . . . I often seen 'en
 wid he
 inside o' he
 pull 'en
 machine . . . he
 covel . . . he's all the same
 church . . . when he was finished
 wharf . . . build 'n
 wharf . . . I start in on he
 listen to 'en
 looked at 'n
 out of 'en

ST. JOHN'S

From the earliest years of European sailing to Newfoundland, the harbour of St. John's, embraced by encircling high hills, has been the principal focus for marine, economic, political, and social activity of the island. It has been the haven for vessels approaching from Europe with both goods and temporary workers or permanent settlers. Even at the present time, despite being located at a point far from the geographical centre of the island or the coastal population, St. John's continues to grow in size, numbers, and governmental and social importance.

Although an adequate study of the speech of St. John's like those of New York and San Francisco¹ cannot yet be essayed, it is fitting to conclude this sketch of prominent dialects of the Avalon Peninsula with some general remarks about the linguistic situation in the capital.

The ideal description of St. John's speech will be derived from interviewing life-long residents who are descended from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century families. In addition, cultivated, common, and folk speakers of the several religious persuasions and older, middle, and younger generations should be selected. Such a survey would indicate both the inherited elements in the speech of the confident, long-rooted population and whatever traits and trends have been absorbed from speakers influenced by other dialects and standards of speech.

City informants equivalent to the older fishermen and wives interviewed in the Avalon out-harbours are less acquainted with fishing than their counterparts. Some have been on the sealing expeditions, but the majority of the older generation has been connected with service employment: sailing and steamships, trade and finance, communications, civil and municipal service, longshore activities, labouring. A further complication, especially since war-time expansion and Confederation, is the considerable increase in the population, for whatever reason, coming notably from the rest of Newfoundland and from many countries around the world. Our main interest here, though, is the central core of residents whose families have lived here for generations, and the great number of citizens who grew up elsewhere on the island or whose parents came from outside St. John's. The following tentative generalizations are based on three years of attentive listening to many varieties of St. John's speech.

The speech of the cultivated and influential in St. John's who are not trained in England or mainland North America has the full complement of twenty-four English consonants, thus indicating their unquestioned membership in the class of cultivated speakers of English scattered everywhere in the world.

/r/ The frictionless glide is employed initially and intervocalically. The retroflex syllabic /ər/ is central or slightly lowered or retracted, like the quality of the /ər/ of the Southern Shoreline, and the weak-stressed equivalent is always retroflex. A full complement of separated retroflex vowels exists, the /ir/ and /ur/ not lowering to merge with /er/ and /or/.

¹Hubbell, F., *The Pronunciation of English in New York City*; DeCamp, D., "The Pronunciation of English in San Francisco," *Orbis*, VII, VIII.

pier	[pɪɹ̥]
pear	[pɛɹ̥]
par /pær/	[pɑɹ̥]
even	[pæɹ̥]
purr	[pɜ :ɹ̥]
poor	[pʊɹ̥]
pour	[pɔɹ̥]
port	[pɔɹ̥t]

/l/ The Anglo-Irish influence of the clear /l/ in all positions has been strong. The Roman Catholic segment of the population and their schools employ it, many cultivated (but untravelled) non-Catholics have clear /l/, and many recent graduates of the non-Catholic high schools reveal this subphonemic distinctive quality. Men and women who have both dark and clear /l/'s originated along the Northern Shoreline or in other parts of Newfoundland or have been strongly influenced by parents who moved to St. John's from elsewhere.

/h/ Cultivated speakers of St. John's agree with educated people on both sides of the Atlantic in their use of /h/, pronouncing it in inherited patterns. It is present in accordance with the spelling, except in the group of French words like *honest*, *hour*, *honour*, and it may be present or absent in pronouns like *he*, *him*, *her*, depending on accompanying strong or weak stress. The local form of *herb* agrees with Received Standard in having the /h/ pronounced.

/w/ There are good indications that words like *wharf* and *whale* agree with Received Standard, customarily beginning with [w].

The vowels of Cultivated reveal differences that are allied with ethnic and religious factors. The phonemes are as follows:

/i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ɜ	o
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
æ		a
	aɪ	aʊ
	ɔɪ	

In contrast with Southern Shoreline habits, the low-back area of the mouth has two vowels /a/ and /ɔ/, in a pattern similar to Received Standard though lower and less rounded, and the distribution of words like *cot*, *caught*, *dog*, *song*, *law* is parallel to British usage.

The diphthongs /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/ contrast, though more modern speech reveals a tendency to sound both of them closer to [v̥ɪ]. Before voiceless consonants /aɪ/ has a raised first element, as in *night* [nɛɪt], but except for speakers influenced by mainland Canadian speech, /aʊ/ is a constant [aʊ] or [aʊ̥], whether the subsequent consonant is voiced or voiceless.

/e/, /o/ Both the diphthongal [eɪ], [oɪ] and the lowered and lengthened monophthongs of the Southern Shoreline type are heard.

/æ/ The lowered front vowel is typically [æ] in this speech with neither the lowered [a] before some fricatives, and so on, as in Bay Roberts Dialect, nor [aʲ] as in Received Standard.

/a/ The low central vowel can also be retracted, slightly rounded and lengthened in some words, especially *father* and *St. John's* in formal contexts.

Next, turning to the common and folk speech of lifelong St. John's residents, an observer can note the norms of pronunciation in the capital city which are quite general, and the phonological points present in other dialects which have made no impression here.

Depending on the education and social level of the speaker, there are either twenty-two or twenty-four consonant phonemes, with the replacement or loss of standard [θ] and [ð] accounting for the difference in inventory. As with the other dialects of the Avalon Peninsula, many St. John's speakers (unless in imitation) do not employ [θ] and [ð] but instead substitute [t] and [d] or some other apical stop or affricate. These variant pronunciations are so widespread on the island that they occasion little notice among large numbers of people.

Whereas the unique elements of Bay Roberts and Northern Shoreline have made no appreciable impress on St. John's speech, original Anglo-Irish settlers or speakers of Southern Shoreline dialect have long helped to establish the phonetic trends in St. John's.

/l/ The Southern Shoreline clear *l* is customary among most speakers of St. John's and is being widely adopted in all religious denominations.

/r/ Southern Shoreline strong retroflexion, even including the lowered and retracted quality in stressed /ər/, is general. The substituted length or centring glide of *air*, *are*, *oar* of Bay Roberts Dialect is not heard among native city dwellers, but the unaccented -er as in *father*, *after* varies from [ɜ̃] to [ə̃] in St. John's, sometimes in the same speaker.

/h/ The complicated patternings of [h] found in Bay Roberts Dialect and other speech of Newfoundland do not operate in St. John's. Local usage conforms to standard British practice. Several speakers, though, have been heard to insert an *h* in *Montreal*: [mantrɪ'həl].

/sč-/ Since the usual Avalon usage is /č/ and /j/ in words like *Tuesday* and *due*, *dew*, it is noteworthy that the same affricate is retained even in clusters. Typical residents of the city employ /sč-/ in *stew* and *stupid*.

As might be expected, the vowel systems range all the way from that of Cultivated, outlined above, to that of the Southern Shoreline. The half-way vowel [a] regular in Bay Roberts Dialect does not prevail in St. John's.

/e/, /o/ Unlike the dominant clear *l* of Southern Shoreline, the varieties of these vowels are related to denominational lines, age, and level of education. Lowered and lengthened [eː], [oː] are frequent among the Roman Catholics, and [eɪ] and [oʊ] usual among non-Catholics and the younger generation.

/ær/ More extreme than in Cultivated, *ar* is fronted and raised by the majority of St. John's speakers: [æʔ], [æʔ̃].

Again in the low back vowels, there is variation between speakers and in the same speaker ranging from the Cultivated (and Received Standard) contrast [ɑː] : [ɔ] to the Southern Shoreline single low vowel phoneme. The Southern Shoreline pattern of sounds is widely heard even outside speakers of Irish descent, and is spreading among the younger generation.

/a/ /aɪ/ } /a/ /aɪ/
/ɔ/ /ɔɪ/ }

/ʌ/ The lowered mid central vowel is frequently similar to Southern Shore, that is, retracted or apparently raised, and rounded: [ʌʷ].

For many decades educational institutions in St. John's have displayed certain standard spellings, inflections, vocabulary, idioms before the citizens, so that extra-insular influences have had a good opportunity to affect local grammatical and lexical usage. These cultural influences first came from England and Ireland with the books, texts, teachers, and clergymen that appeared in St. John's. Since the war and Confederation, British usages and university influences have exerted fewer pressures on local grammar and vocabulary, and United States and Canadian linguistic factors have steadily become more frequent.

Therefore, St. John's speech at present draws on two sources for its grammatical and lexical growth. The responsible classes are in tune with government, education, and all types of media supplying information and entertainment in North America. The casual citizen, on the other hand, is possibly little influenced by the language coming from a distance: in TV fare, Hollywood movies, and repetitive ballads and rhythm pieces on radio and juke-box. Instead he is directly affected by local stimuli of linguistic importance. First, there is the vigorous growth and improvement of the professional classes residing in St. John's, who, we feel, will simply swell the influence of Cultivated St. John's speech outlined above. Next, the influence of other Newfoundlanders wishing to work in St. John's (although in competition with the schools) will add more folk morphology, terms, phrases, and intonational habits to the common speech already present in St. John's. In brief, the dialectal influences on many St. John's speakers in these years of expansion will continue to come from the old Newfoundland stock, from the settlements of Avalon and elsewhere on the Island.

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(In Chronological Order)

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No. 2—Map showing Religious Denominations.

No. 3.—Map showing Railways and Steamship Routes.

No. 4—Map showing Roads.

No. 5—General Map of Newfoundland and Labrador.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

a. POPULATION GROWTH IN NEWFOUNDLAND¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>
1654.....	1,750	1831.....	75,900
1680.....	2,181	1836.....	75,094
1696.....	2,321	1845.....	96,295
1700.....	3,773	1851.....	101,600
1715.....	4,049	1857.....	122,638
1741.....	6,000	1869.....	144,386
1750.....	6,900	1874.....	158,958
1766.....	11,843	1884.....	193,124
1770.....	11,457	1891.....	197,934
1785.....	10,244	1901.....	217,037
1790.....	16,835	1911.....	238,670
1804.....	20,380	1921.....	259,259
1806.....	26,505	1935.....	284,872
1816.....	52,672	1945.....	321,819
1825.....	55,719	1956.....	415,074

¹Selected figures from the *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935*, Appendix A.

b. POPULATION OF AVALON AND PERCENTAGE OF NEWFOUNDLAND: TOTAL¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Percentage of NFLD.</i>
1836.....	54,776	72.9
1857.....	81,889	65.9
1869.....	89,626	61.2
1874.....	94,720	58.7
1884.....	111,262	56.4
1891.....	109,048	54.0
1901.....	114,479	51.8
1911.....	121,044	49.9
1921.....	121,463	46.2
1935.....	125,849	43.5
1945.....	137,934	42.9
1951.....	149,543	41.4
1956.....	171,213	41.2

¹Copes, *St. John's and Newfoundland*, Table 18.1.

APPENDIX II

RETURN OF POSSESSIONS HELD IN THE CONCEPCION BAY

C.O. Misc., 199.18. [from data gathered 1702-1807]

PORT DE GRAVE

Samuel Dawe 1785, Philip Noel 1786, Thomas Sullivan 1802, Edward French 1797, John Curnew 1784, John Beecham 1769, Wm. French 1797, James Stephens 1770, Elias Filleul 1790, E. Filleul 1760, Sam Filleul 1763 (bequeathed by father), Richard Filleul 1793, John Moore 1804, Wm. Richards 1782, A. Richards 1782 (bequeathed by father), John Richards 1782, Isaac Richards 1782, Thomas Bartlett 1778, Abraham Boone 1784, Thos. Boone 1784, John Boone 1784, Wm. Preauty 1788, Wm. Anthony 1788, John Batton 1791, Wm. & John Snow 1793, Ed. Snow 1793, Thomas Snow 1793 (bequeathed by father), Elias Piccott 1784, John Snow 1777, John Norman 1783, Morgan Cavanaugh 1783, Morgan Cavanaugh 1785 (bequeathed by father), Ed. Skehan 1781, Wm. Owen 1769 (bequeathed by father-in-law) John Mugford 1784 (bequeathed by father), Wm. Mugford 1789, John Butler 1799 (bequeathed by father), Daniel Connors, Jacob Taylor 1798 (bequeathed by father-in-law), Wm. Mugford 1770, Richard Shea 1805, Chas. Merser 1775, Geo. Boy 1802, Patrick Brown, John Butler 36 (?), Sam Batton 1789, Wm. Hussey 1768, Thos. Hussey 1782, John Hussey 1762, John Listow 1779, Wm. Wells 1799, John Reardon 1791, Geo. Coombs 1800, Bart. Corban 1785.

ROCK COVE

Mich. Roach 1783, John Bishop 1786, Ab. Richards 1775, Ab. Carnell (uncle), Isaac Richards 1775, Wm. Pinsent 1787, Sam Batton 1768, Sam Batton 1804, Thos. Snow 1777, John Snow 1768, Wm. Andress 1758, John Bussey 1775, Geo. Heffernan 1755.

BUCK COVE

Jos. Bussey 1805; Sam Butler, 1803; Chas John Butler, 1804; Daniel King, 1799; John Butler 1765; M. Butler 1763, Ed. Baker 1763, Jos Furneaux 1763, Chas Tucker 1783, Jas Butler 1760, John Butler 1763, Jas Tucker 1757, Richard Lamb 1776, Jas Wells 1776, John Butler 1765, Amy Mugford 1725, Wm. Dawe 1801, Ed. Power, Isaac Dawe 1798, Philip Horrell, Robt. Taylor 1788, Robt. Taylor 1782, Richard Taylor 1801, Jacob Taylor 1775, John Dawe 1782, Mich. Dawe 1769, Isaac Dawe 1775, E. Nugent 1798, John Coveduck 1760, A. Coveduck 1780 (bequeathed by father), John Tucker 1780, Chas. Tucker 1777, Henry Taylor 1804, Sam Dawe 1757, Sam Dawe 1790, Isaac Dawe 1775, Geo. Dawe 1775, John Dawe 1803, Nich. & Wm. Dawe 1760 (gift of father), John Dawe 1775, Wm. Dawe 1772, Henry John Williams, Jacob Warford 1771, John Warford 1797, Wm. Warford 1797, John Andress 1763 (bequeathed by father), Wm. Andress, Chas. Tucker, Jos Furneaux, Wm. Andress 1801, Geo. Morgan 1752, Wm. Morgan 1783 (bequeathed by father), John Morgan 1783, Ed. Morgan, Jas. Morgan, E. & J. Morgan 1801 (bequeathed by father), Bridget Morgan 1785 (gift of brothers-in-law), Jos Morgan 1774, Jos. Bishop 1793, Wm. Petten 1793, Chas. Butler 1797 (purchased Wm. Petton £2-6-), Geo. Dawe 1797 (plat), Rd. Wm. Geo. Porter 1782.

HIBBS HOLE

Henry Laine 1759, Ed Petton, Ed Kennedy 1800 (bequeathed by grandfather), Ed. Petton 1781, Rd. Porter, Wm. Laine, Wm. Kennedy 1745 (built himself), Richard Porter 1774 (gift of father), Richard Porter, Mary Porter (mother) 1805, Rd. Porter-John P's son 1789 (gift of father), Wm. Porter 1777, John Grealy 1783.

PORT DE GRAVE

Rachel Dawe 1775 (bequeathed by father).

BRIGUS

Wm. Phelan 1802, James Walker 1801 (gift of mother-in-law), Widow King & sons 1784, John Wilcock (purchased from Conway Hughington for £26), John Woolcock 1801, Thos. Rose 1802, James Hays 1798, John & Isaac Clark 1770, Chas. Merser 1797, James Goushon 1785, Wm. Sparks 1804 (gift of grandfather), John Morgan 1805 (bequeathed by father), John Sparks 1785 (bequeathed by father-in-law), John Antle 1778, John Noel 1785, Geo. & Jas. Kemp 1800, Wm. Antle—purchased from Wm Newin ?—1801 (given by father), Ed Percey 1769, "bounded on the N by (English) John Bartlett," Jos. Richardson, Thos. Richardson 1803, Wm. Percy 1770 (bequeathed by father Stephen P), Wm. Percy, Jas. & Wm. Norman 1774 (gift of father), Azariah (Marsdon?), I. & W. Bartlett 1780, Wm. Antle Sen. 1798 (bequeathed by father-in-law), Steph. Percey 1797, G. & Jas. Kemp & Co., 5 sons of Wm. Roberts (now dec.) 1801 (father intestate), Walter Phealan 1804, John Roberts, Isaac & Thos. Roberts, Dinah Roberts 1771 (gift of father), John Rabbits (sen. & his nephew) 1805 (gift of mother), Wm. Roberts Sen.—purchased Wm. Lane (Laine) 1768, Wm. Antle & Widow Antle 1782, John Roberts 1800 (gift of mother), John Percy 1790, Cath. Antle, Wm. Phelan 1804, Sam Roberts (?saint) 1805, Grace Norman, Grace Walker 1797, Thos. Quinlan 1797, Wm. Percy, Jas. & Thos. Roberts 1745 (bequeathed by father), Grace Walker 1788 (gift of mother-in-law), Ann Roberts 1772, Wm. Walsh, Simeon Sprackling 1784, Wm. Keating 1784 (gift of mother-in-law), Simon Sprackling 1772 (gift of father), Robt. Knight 1800 (gift of mother), John Plowman 1782 (gift of father-in-law), Azariah Mondon 1770 Purch. Chas. Wile (?)

BURNTHEAD

I. Noel 1790, Wm. Brien 1790

CUPIDS

Richard Payton 1802, John Sheppard 1802, Jas. Butler 1804, Austen Dunn 1791, Jas. Fowlow 1799, Wm. Gill 1799, L. Fowlow 1785, M. Connolly 1771, Mary Anthony 1770, Th. Day 1780, Walter Walsh 1787, Ed Lunergan 1789, Jos. Anthony 1775 (gift of father in law) Wm. Coveduck 1783, Mary Porter 1783, J. Anthony 1775, Wm. LaDros 1780 (gift from father), Mary LaDros 1762, George La Dros 1795 (gift from father), Nich. LaDros 1788, Hen. Anthony 1803, Wm. Keating 1793, Wm. Morgan 1798, Jacob Noseworthy 1782 (gift from parents), Nath. Gibbs 1802, Sam Noseworthy 1801, Michael Power 1781, Thos. Leary 1790, Thos. Ford 1785, Theophilus Wells 1796, Jas. Ford 1804, Robert Taylor 1805, John Traverse 1804, Wm. Pinsent 1804, Thos. Selly 1806, Wm. Pinsent 1793, Wm. Newman 1775, Walter Phelan 1802.

SALMON COVE, PORT DE GRAVE

Hen. Anthony 1805, Arthur Rich 1805, Thos. Bussey 1799, Wm. Batton 1798, Rich. Wells 1798, Wm. Andress 1804, H. Andrews (Andress) 1802, John Butler 1803, Wm. Butler 1800.

BAY ROBERTS

John Churchill, Wm. Tippet 1801, H. Rosewell 1805, Marcus Delaney 1800, Pat Fitzpatrick 1803, Delaney 1803 (gift from father), S. & I. Russel 1801, Wm. Elms 1801, Wm. Snow 1803, Ed. Snow 1801, John Perchard 1794, Wm. Murreu 1804, John Snow 1880, Sam Mirser (Merger) 1805, John Perchard 1788, Rob. Merger 1792 (gift from father), Dan. Norman 1802 (gift from father-in-law), Ed. French 1775, John Merger 1796, Abe Earle 1795, John Merger 1795, Chas. Merger 1797 (gift from father), John Kearley 1797, Jonathan Merger 1765 (gift from father), Geo. Merger 1790, Chas. Merger 1804, Wm. Merger 1800 (gift of father), Thos. Merger 1797 (bequeathed by father), John Merger 1801, Jas. Merger 1781, Chas. Merger 1770.

PORT DE GRAVE

Thos. Snow 1802.

CUPIDS

Hen. Anthony 1803.

BAY ROBERTS

Jas. Merger 1800 (bequeathed by father), Wm. Merger 1786 (gift from father) Chas Thos. Ed. Merger 1790, Abe Bradburry 1775 (by father), Ben Squires 1765,

Parsons 1775, Patience Parsons 1759, Hen. Parsons 1775, Hen. Crane 1785, Wm. 1785, Abe, Ed. Wm. Bradbury 1805, John Badcock, Wm. Petton 1765 (by his father), John 1785, Wm. Jones 1765, Wm. Lilly, Fra. Bartlet 1766, Ed. Russel 1798 (bequeathed by mother), Jas. Churchill 1793 (gift from father), Wm. Badcock 1803, Rob. Bishop 1785, Wm. Badcock 1767 (bequeathed by grandfather), Abe French 1804, John Snow 1785, Tho. Caravan 1781 (from mother-in-law), Wm. Snow 1795 (from mother), Ed. Snow 1780 (gift from father), Wm. Ed. French 1790 (gift from mother), Fran. Badcock, Wm. Elmes 1797 (gift from father), John Badcock 1755, Rich. Boit, Fras. Badcock 1790 (gift from father), John Badcock 1781 (gift from father), Rob. Badcock, John Sparks 1785, Wm. Lilly, Wm. Squires 1785 (bequeathed from father), Ed. French 1783, Jonas French etc. 1775, Thos. French 1765, Ed. French 1764 (gift from father).

COLE LEES POINT

Ed. J. Wm. Snow 1798.

JUGLERS COVE

Abe Bradbury 1784 (bequeathed by father), Wm. Earl 1782 (gift from father), Isaac Earl 1782, Wm. Earl (John's son) 1785, Wm. Earl (Abe's son) 1760, John Clements.

GREEN HEAD

Wm. Piddle 1803, Jam. Kelly 1805, Chas. Noseworthy 1803, Wm. Porter 1796, Thos. Noseworthy 1796.

MINT COVE

John Warford 1795, Tim Collins 1805, Tim Collins 1796, H. Sheppard 1794.

MINT COVE AND BRIGUS

H. Sheppard, Sr. 1787.

MINT COVE

John Sheppard 1783, Children of Fran. Sheppard 1783, John Besom, John Besom 1803, Rob. Brewer 1803, Wm. Chipman 1798.

NORTHERN COVE

Rob. & Wm. Gosse 1802, Jos. Foster 1804, David Phelan 1785, H. Seymor 1805, John Butt 1802, Philip Bokey 1799, Rich. Baggs 1802.

OTTERBURY

Abe Barret 1800.

BREAD AND CHEESE COVE

Sarah Barret 1755, David Barret 1790, Thos. Smith 1797, Geo. Baker 1775, J. Smith 1763, John Percey 1763, John Smith 1785 (gift from father), Jas. Hutchins (Hutchinson) 1775, Rich. & Wm. Gosse 1785, Rich. Taylor, children of Rich. Pope 1775, Rich. Pope 1787, J. Clements, Jacob Smith 1765, Wm. & Isaac Smith 1785 (from father's will), Fran. Piddle 1775, Wm. Smith 1785 (from father).

COOPERS HEAD

Mat Minshinton 1801, Mich Quilty 1780.

SPOON COVE

Mich Power 1784, Nick Dobbin 1770, Wm. Crane, Wm. Sharpe 1790.

ISLAND COVE

J. Drover 1775, Eliz. Smith, John Youngs 1780 (bequeathed by father), Youngs, and Baggs 1775, Jas. Byrn 1773, Hen. Hibbs, Wm. Drover 1763, Jas. King, Jas. Byrn 1798, Wm. Lilly, J. Janes, Francis Jones 1770, Geo. Pynn.

APPENDIX III

THE LABRADOR STATIONS AND MERCHANTS, 1895

<i>Place</i>	<i>Supplying Merchant</i>
Bonne Esperance.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Salmon River.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Middle Bay.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Bradore.....	Penny Bros. (Carbonear)
Grundy Island.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Blanc Sablon.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Blanc Sablon.....	Frewing & Co.
Isle-au-Bois.....	Penny Bros. (Carbonear)
Forteau.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Lance-au-Loup.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Lance-aux-Morts.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Red Bay.....	Penny Bros. (Carbonear)
Red Bay.....	Penny Bros. (Carbonear)
Chateau.....	Joyce Bros.
Henley Harbour.....	Joyce Bros.
Cape Charles.....	Baine, Johnston & Co. (St. John's)
Battle Harbour.....	Baine, Johnston & Co. (St. John's)
Cape Charles.....	Kinealy
Fishing Ships Harbour.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Dead Island.....	W. Ross & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Seal Island.....	B. Greene (Harbour Grace)
Punch Bowl.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Cape Harrison.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Cape Harrison.....	J. Rorke (Carbonear)
Indian Tickle.....	Crummy
Spracklin's Island.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Cape Harrigan.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Merchantman's Harbour.....	Duff (Carbonear)
Francis Harbour.....	J. Rorke (Carbonear)
Venison Tickle.....	J. Rorke (Carbonear)
Griffin's Harbour.....	Goodfellow & Co. (Brigus)
Batteau.....	J. Ryan (Bonavista)
Batteau.....	Ben Boyles
Domino.....	Isaac Bartlett (Brigus)
Indian Tickle.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Grady.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Pack's Harbour.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Cartwright.....	Hudson's Bay Co. (London)
Indian Harbour.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Smoky.....	Geo. Jerritt (Brigus)
Emily Harbour.....	J. Munn & Co. (Harbour Grace)
Holton.....	J. Ryan (Bonavista)
Holton.....	J. Ryan (Bonavista)
Turnavick, W.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Turnavick, E.....	Job Bros. (St. John's)
Winsor Harbour.....	John Hennessy
Hopedale.....	Moravian Mission
Rigoulette.....	Hudson's Bay Co. (London)

APPENDIX IV

POPULATION OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE AVALON PENINSULA 1857-1945

The following tables have been compiled from Census returns. Settlements are listed as they occur in the Electoral Divisions, with cross references to indicate where a settlement is found in more than one Division. Variant names and spellings of name of the same settlement are bracketed together.

TABLE 1. ST. JOHN'S EAST ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
City and Suburbs from Beck's Cove, etc., East..	13,261	12,693	13,024	16,727	15,347	14,741	—	—	—	20,561
Ward 1.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,126	4,383	4,378	
Ward 2.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,306	3,396	3,178	
Ward 3.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,400	1,355	1,262	
Ward 4.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,358	5,232	6,185	
Ward 5.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,094	3,291	2,913	
Quidi Vidi.....	—	—	—	153	187	283	259	502	599	644
Major's Path Section, incl. Portugal Cove Rd., Torbay and Logy Bay rds.....	—	—	—	—	—	383	434	449		
Major's Path Section, incl Mount Cashel, Torbay Rd., Logy Bay Rd., Sugar Loaf Rd., Mahon's Lane, Old Portugal Cove Rd., Portugal Cove Rd., and Bauline Line.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,435	1,863
Nagle's Hill Section.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,202	1,712
Logy Bay.....	180	205	201	207	203	213	215	249	224	233
Outer Cove.....	237	256	272	313	317	284	302	306	257	288
Middle Cove and Freshwater.....	68	88								
Middle Cove.....	—	—	62	73	105	119	131	153	134	135
Freshwater.....	—	—	35							
Torbay.....	1,196	1,281	1,363	1,559	1,456	1,495	—	—	1,523	1,422
Torbay, viz: Piper Stock Hill, South Side, North Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,463	1,534		
Flat Rock.....	236	299	297	337	304	372	389	489	478	487
Pouch Cove.....	737	844	—	—	—	1,085	1,175	1,231	1,095	1,088
Pouch Cove and to Cape St. Francis.....	—	—	894							
Pouch Cove and Pouch Cove Rd.....	—	—	—	960	948					
Cape St. Francis.....	—	—	—	20	35	41	11	6	11	10
Portugal Cove ¹	651	689	770	—	—	—	1,026	1,052		
Portugal Cove and Cove Rd.....	—	—	—	1,057	1,021	998				

¹See also St. John's West Division.

TABLE 1. ST. JOHN'S EAST ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Portugal Cove Bridge to Whelan's Twenty-mile Pond.....	323	303	233	—	—	—	45	59	74	20
Biscayan Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	117	110	126
Shoe Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Balline }	35	42	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bauline }	—	—	—	127	144	178	217	258	263	226
Bell Island ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Belle Isle and Lance Cove ¹	428	504	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Belle Isle Settlement ¹	—	—	359	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Belle Isle, Lance Cove ¹	—	—	182	—	—	—	395	423	—	—
Belle Isle, Fresh Water ¹	—	—	35	—	—	—	88	105	—	—
Belle Isle ¹	—	—	—	651	709	1,320	—	—	—	—
Belle Isle, East ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	371	370	—	—
Belle Isle, Center ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	626	787	—	—
Belle Isle, Mines ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,604	2,672	—	—

¹See also Harbour Main Division.

TABLE 2. ST. JOHN'S WEST ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
City and Suburbs from Beck's Cove etc., West..	11,590	9,860	10,866	14,415	13,660	15,860	—	—	—	24,042
Ward 1.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,265	1,512	2,084	—
Ward 2.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,820	3,902	5,220	—
Ward 3.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,374	3,430	3,077	—
Ward 4.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,910	5,185	5,256	—
Ward 5.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,079	4,984	4,920	—
South Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,281	1,372	1,654	535
Freshwater Valley.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	118	217	494	—
Topsail Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	235	—	—	—
Boggy Hall Section, incl. Topsail Rd., Cornwall Ave., Cockpit Rd., Blackmarsh Rd., Mundy Pond Rd., to junction of old Railway Track.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	465	—	—
Boggy Hall Section, incl. Topsail Rd., Waterford Bridge Rd., Old Placentia Rd., Asylum Rd., Molloy's Lane, Craig-miller Ave., Cowan Ave., Deer's Marsh Rd., Cornwall Ave., Blackmarsh Rd., Mt. Pearl Park, Mundy Pond Rd., Road de Luxe, and Old Railway Track.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,230	6,199

TABLE 2. ST. JOHN'S WEST ELECTORAL DIVISION Continued

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1941
Kilbride Section, incl. Bay Bulls Rd., Mt. Pearl Rd., and Petty Harbor Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	431	438	—
Old Bay Bulls and other roads from a line drawn from Gregory Griffin's on Petty Harbor Rd....	189	229	268	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Old Bay Bulls Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	135	—	—	—
Bay Bulls Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	156	—	—	—
Mount Pearl Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—
Lunatic Asylum.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	284	326	—	—
Petty Harbor Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	61	—	—	—
Petty Harbor.....	747	918	—	807	—	—	—	—	769	—
Petty Harbor and Maddox Cove.....	—	—	1,034	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maddox Cove }.....	79	—	—	111	100	120	101	122	119	—
Madox Cove }.....	—	90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Petty Harbor, incl. Old Placentia, Bay Bulls, and Heavytree roads....	—	—	—	—	953	1,771	—	—	—	—
Old Placentia Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—
Heavytree Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	53	—	—
Petty Harbour North.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	284	287	—	—
Petty Harbour South.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	473	440	—	—
Goulds Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	94	—	—
Goulds ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	375	—	—
Forest Pond Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	126	117	—	—	—
Back Line.....	—	—	—	—	—	28	25	—	—	—
Short's Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	—	—
King's Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	11	—	—
Deer Marsh Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—
Pearl Town Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
Old St. John's Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—
Tolt Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	36	—	—
Horse Cove Rd. ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	—	—	—
Broad Cove }.....	301	304	352	403	446	—	—	—	—	—
St. Philips (West) }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	54	167	—	—
St. Philips (Central) }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	77	85	—	—
St. Phillip's }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	416	35
St. Phillip's Hill }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	215	—
Old Broad Cove Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	92	—	—
Broad Cove Hill.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	42	61	—	—
Broad Cove and Thorburn Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	602	—	—	—	—
Thorburn Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	209	242	186	9
Goat Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	9	—	—
The Ridge.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	51	—	—	—
Freshwater Bay }.....	—	46	26	—	—	—	20	—	9	—
Freshwater }.....	65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Freshwater Valley Section.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,20

¹See also Ferryland Division.²See also Harbour Main Division.

TABLE 2. ST. JOHN'S WEST ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Black Head incl. Cape Spear.....	—	199	215	—	—	—	79			
Black Hd. incl. Cape Spear and Freshwater Bay.....	—	—	226	—	92	130	—	70		
Blackhead.....	144	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	48
Blackhead Rd.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	727	1,116
Cape Spear.....	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	8
Portugal Cove, incl. Old Broad Cove Rd., Witch Hazel Rd., and Protestant Town.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	816	
Portugal Cove ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	843

¹See also St. John's East Division.

TABLE 3. FERRYLAND ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Goulds ¹	—	129	257	328	304	339	302	287	314	477
Big Pond.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	53	35	16	21
Goulds to Bay Bulls.....	146									
Bay Bulls }.....	721	734	781	894	912	—	804	880	808	745
Bay of Bulls }.....	—	—	—	—	—	832				
Shoal Bay.....	—	103								
Witless Bay.....	801	928	949	913	866	864	837	—	649	568
Witless Bay N. Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	503		
Witless Bay S. Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	272		
Mobile.....	201	221	231	208	196	171	162	180	150	107
Toad's Cove }.....	298	325	352	389	351	335				
Tor's Cove }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	326	302	269	266
Burn Cove }.....	49	73	69	90	88	77	88	—	55	
Burnt Cove }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	82	—	74
Caplin Cove }.....	48	47	61	41	46	27				
St. Michael's }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	33	39	31	28
Seal Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	11			
Baline }.....	66	—	55							
Baleine }.....	—	75								
Bauline }.....	—	—	—	52	62	66	27	57	55	55
La Manche.....	34	27	25	33	36	41	35	42	53	54
Brigus }.....	163	125	—	—	105					
Brigus, South }.....	—	—	177	119	—	70	88	101	93	94
Shore's Cove (Cape Broyle).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	25	25	18
Sprout Cove (Cape Broyle).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	22
Cape Broyle.....	400	465	478	541	511	409	431	465	487	457
Admiral's Cove (Cape Broyle).....	—	—	—	—	—	156	180	134	93	74

¹See also St. John's West Division.

TABLE 3. FERRYLAND ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Caplin Bay }	236	260	288	315	296	294	334	393		
Calvert }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	416	367
Island Cove (Cape Broyle).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	57	50	49
Ferryland.....	598	678	636	668	549	535	478	562	549	523
Aquaforte.....	198	213	239	237	192	189	213	231	176	156
Jonathan Cove (Cape Broyle).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5		
Trepassey ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	326	550
Trepassey Central ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	226	
Portugal Cove ¹ }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	231	
Portugal Cove South ¹ }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	202
Biscay Bay ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	58	65
Fermeuse ² }	541	—	618	713	637	550				
Fermewse ² }	—	578								
Renewse.....	636									
Renews.....	—	859	852	660	538	576	579	563	462	447
Renews to Cape Race.....	92	—	228							
Cape Race.....	—	—	—	—	—	25	27	35	46	28
Bear Cove.....	—	—	—	53	40	35	28	28	14	3
Bear Cove Pt.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	
Broad Cove }	—	—	—	91	94	88	93			
Cappahayden }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	91	73	71
Seal Cove.....	—	—	—	28	27	18	15	2		
Shoe Cove.....	—	—	—	16						
Chance Cove.....	—	—	—	52						
Clam Cove.....	—	—	—	31						
Freshwater.....	—	—	—	—	3	—	21	7	11	9
Cape Pine ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	10
Drook ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	31
Long Beach ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	30
St. Brendan's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	
Clear's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	18	17	19
St. Bernard's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2
Admiral's Cove ³ }	—	—	—	—	—	—	139	155		
Admiral's ³ }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	143	122
North Side ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	82	80	37	24
Riverhead ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	160	164	232	213
Rumbley's Cove ³	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	49		
Kingman's ³ }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	106	102
Kingman's Cove ³ }	—	—	—	—	—	—	149	106		
Blomidon.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22		
Trixie's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	19	5	12
Shoal Point ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	63	39
Daniel's Point.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	117	68
N.W. Arm.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	4
St. Shott's ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	119	140
Blacksmith.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	4	

¹See also Placentia - St. Mary's Division.²See Admiral's Cove, below.³Recorded under Fermeuse above, before 1911.

TABLE 4. HARBOR MAIN ELECTORAL DIVISION
[Harbour Main-Bell Island Division 1945]

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Horse Cove ¹	68	105	95	111	138	179	185	176		
St. Thomas }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	237	205
Paradise.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	96	150	157	151
Topsail.....	307	229	251	306	385	404	379	413	413	471
Topsail R.....	—	145	160	135	154	179	131	158	131	200
Kelly's Island.....	—	—	23	26	31	26				
Chaimberlain }	137	—	163							
Chamberlain's }	—	143	—	225	—	—	—	309	—	412
Chamberlains }	—	—	—	—	241	238	288	—	344	
Manuels.....	120	80	93	121	194	138	136	146	194	191
Big Rock and Droke, S. of Main Rd.....	—	—	43							
Long Pond.....	231	374	391	435	513	525	560	632	615	852
Fox Trap.....	143	216	254	323	381	410	461	466	596	378
Greeleytown.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	146
Middle Bight }	139	140	141	142	149	162	—	—	—	282
Codner }	—	—	—	—	—	—	243	260	256	
Peachtown.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	126
Kelligrews.....	143	198	218	296	316	350	327	294	346	462
Lower Gullies }	78	138	152	—	—	133	133	134		
Lower Gully }	—	—	—	161						
Lower Gulley }	—	—	—	—	161					
Riverdale.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	148	69
Upper Gullies.....	74	115	173	—	—	147	154	171	260	293
Upper Gully.....	—	—	—	141						
Upper Gulley.....	—	—	—	—	184					
Hopewell.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	96	110	—	53
Lance Cove.....	76	100	120	151	117	157	49	33	32	27
Seals Cove }	61									
Seal Cove }	—	—	—	117	132	147	138	148	152	211
Seal's Cove and Indian Pond.....	—	89	102							
Indian Pond.....	—	—	—	74	56	77	100	91	91	82
Duff's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46	35	42
South Side Holyrood }	364	315	383	—	414	454	—	310	226	
Holyrood South }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	276
South Arm of Holyrood.....	236									
North Side Holyrood }	257	—	—	—	—	334	—	148	284	
Holyrood North }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	191
North Arm Holyrood.....	—	—	—	—	204					
North Arm Holyrood, and Holyrood.....	—	665	690	910						
Holyrood, south of Bridge.....	—	—	—	461						
Holyrood, Central.....	—	—	—	—	371	416	—	290	279	198
Holyrood.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,047			
Quinlan's Ridge.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	99	91		
Salmonier Road or Newtown }	—	—	—	—	110	178				
Newtown }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	101	113	
Salmonier Road }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	
Salmonier }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	104

¹See also St. John's West Division.

TABLE 4. HARBOR MAIN ELECTORAL DIVISION Continued

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Wicklow	—	—	—	—	47	63	—	—	—	—
Wickalow	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	107	—	—
Lake View	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	154	153
Skibbereen	—	—	—	—	39	95	—	48	—	—
Healy's Cove	—	—	—	—	178	—	—	—	—	—
Healey's Cross	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—
Harbor Main Rd.	—	—	—	—	110	—	—	—	—	—
Chapels Cove	290	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	275	—
Chapel's Cove	—	—	—	—	445	562	—	416	—	245
Chapel's Cove and Pond Road, Chapel's Cove to Ridge Road	—	—	—	569	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chapel Cove	—	—	—	—	—	—	437	—	—	—
Grant's Marsh to Harbor Main	—	495	453	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harbor Main	848	694	748	989	841	798	711	745	615	581
Gasters	103	109	117	123	46	47	51	47	—	—
Brigus Junction	—	—	—	—	33	—	50	—	108	125
Railway (Brigus Junction)	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	74	—	—
Railway line	—	—	—	74	—	—	—	—	—	—
Broad Cove	75	—	—	—	56	—	—	—	—	—
Middle Arm	81	—	—	—	86	79	59	54	51	74
Millville	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	—	—
Salmon Cove	199	251	—	742	485	—	—	—	—	—
Salmon Cove, South Side	—	—	255	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Salmon Cove, North Side	—	—	—	—	190	—	—	—	—	—
Salmon Cove North Side, Broad Cove and Middle Arm	—	243	282	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Avondale	—	—	—	—	—	808	665	603	601	672
Cats Cove	546	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cat's Cove	—	649	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Conception Harbor	—	—	704	885	878	932	988	892	812	685
Bacon Cove	193	—	—	—	167	—	139	194	156	138
Lower Beacon Cove	—	104	97	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Upper Beacon Cove	—	—	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Upper Bacon Cove	—	—	—	111	—	76	—	—	—	—
Lower Bacon Cove	—	—	—	116	—	61	—	—	—	—
Ketchions and Upper Beacon Cove	—	245	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kitchues	—	—	208	227	234	222	270	250	169	—
Kitchuses	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	145
Collier's	301	472	528	706	509	600	800	773	683	566
Colliers James Cove	104	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
James Cove	—	—	—	—	189	132	—	—	—	26
Colliers English Cove	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
English Cove	—	88	110	89	67	63	59	49	—	—
Burke's Cove	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41
Colliers Flat Rock	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turk's Gut, South	149	140	149	199	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turk's Gut ¹	—	—	—	—	257	292	260	—	—	—
Maryvale	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	279	—	—
Marysvale	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	313	310

¹See also Port-de-Grave Division.

TABLE 4. HARBOR MAIN ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Back Cove.....	—	—	—	—	35					
Dock Ridge.....	—	—	—	—	46					
Lance Cove, Bell Island ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	512	475
Freshwater, Bell Island ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	155	276
Bell Island Mines ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,645	
Bell Island Center ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,150	
Bell Island East ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	284	
Davidson Ave. Scotia Ridge ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	436	
West Mines ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	975	1,392
Bell Island ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,028

²See also St. John's East Division.

5. PORT-DE-GRAVE ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Cupids.....	959	799	895	1,007	492	763	683	731	562	569
Cupids, Southside.....	—	409	281	254	527	317	256	216	167	
Rip Rap.....	39	—	—	41	117	50	42			
Caplin Cove and Riprap..	—	66	48							
Caplin Cove.....	30									
Burnt Head.....	101	77	154	163	154	113	128	86	—	193
Foley's Hill.....	—	—	—	—	—	53	24	28	—	46
Cross Road, Foley's Hill..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	47	
Cross Roads.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
Salmon Cove, Southern Gut.....	520	333	378	375	330	300	274	183	143	135
Clarke's Beach }.....	280	—	486	—	—	569	576	563	526	515
Clark's Beach }.....	—	444	—	391	536					
Juniper Stump ¹	29	—	—	—	—	138	181	—	115	99
Emerald Vale.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	
Broad Cove.....	35									
Broads.....	—	—	—	145	116	146	176	163	150	145
Hodge Water Road }.....	—	—	—	—	—	100	116			
Hodgewater Road }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	93		
Hodgewater }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	110	111
Bull Cove.....	124	149	136	145	68	47	22	22		
Turk's Gut ²	77	—	—	—	—	2				
Turk's Gut, North Side..	—	43	34	11	22					
Turk's Water.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	80
Mill Road.....	—	—	—	—	53	39	35	44	57	
Gullies & Goulds.....	177									
Gulleys.....	—	184	199							
Gullies.....	—	—	—	—	233	218	170	158	134	98
South Pond Road }.....	—	—	—	—	76	81	86	72		
Roache's Line }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	64	55
Cochrandale.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	12		
Goulds Road.....	—	191	—	—	—	—	153	135	96	94
Goulds & Goulds Road..	—	—	230	253						

¹See below, p. 98.²See also Harbour Main Division.

5. PORT-DE-GRAVE ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Upper Goulds.....	—	—	—	—	154	—	—	—	—	—
Upper Goulds Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	139	—	—	—	—
Goulds (proper).....	—	—	—	—	130	—	—	151	—	—
Greenland.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	—
Deep Gulch.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—
Shark's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—
Grepe's Nest.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	21	—	—
Main Road to Brigus.....	—	—	—	—	97	37	58	—	—	—
Brigus.....	1,612	1,876	1,975	2,365	1,541	1,162	1,035	936	886	881
Georgetown }.....	—	—	—	—	47	155	—	—	187	241
Georgestown }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	106	176	—	—
Hall's Town, North }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
River }.....	198	—	607	784	—	—	—	—	302	322
Hallstown }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	126	—	—
Northern Gut }.....	335	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North River }.....	—	549	—	—	750	718	711	580	234	242
Dock, Port-de-Grave.....	151	125	143	166	154	132	163	157	125	66
Long Beach.....	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Beach Pond.....	—	—	—	150	126	—	—	—	—	—
Birch Hill.....	—	—	—	—	10	6	—	—	—	—
Bareneed.....	432	460	448	448	447	410	354	291	216	171
Hibbs Hole.....	164	183	98	110	94	82	81	92	74	81
Blow-me-Down.....	169	—	209	204	187	198	215	189	162	125
Pick Eyes.....	—	—	59	79	64	68	82	88	92	108
Ship Cove.....	367	439	282	319	302	245	318	235	256	238
Darrel's Home }.....	—	—	39	—	—	74	—	—	—	—
Darrel's Hole }.....	—	—	—	38	66	—	—	66	—	—
Port-de-Grave.....	440	595	397	436	347	257	258	243	243	217
Sandy Cove.....	128	—	168	137	100	101	91	84	49	35
Drogheda.....	—	84	—	—	105	—	—	—	—	—
Drogheda and Juniper....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stump ¹	—	—	110	95	—	—	—	—	12	11
Riverside Mills.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	87
Springfield.....	—	95	105	125	103	68	100	79	302	269
South River.....	—	148	131	297	288	333	224	270	—	—
Rosell's Brook to Black	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duck Pond.....	—	132	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Black Duck Pond.....	132	—	—	—	—	137	110	119	106	94
Bradbury Hill.....	132	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Otterbury and Brad-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
berry's Hill }.....	—	130	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Otterbury and Brad-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bury's Hill }.....	—	—	160	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Otterbury.....	—	—	—	—	118	118	97	126	95	93
Bradbury's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	27	—	—	—	—
Beachy Cove ² }.....	—	—	—	—	32	42	—	11	—	—
Beechy Cove ² }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	—	—
Coley's Point ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	825	697
Country Road ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	315	345
Bay Roberts East ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	911	—
Central, and West Bay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Roberts ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,301
Mercer's Cove ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	477

¹See above, p. 97.

²See also Harbour Grace Division.

TABLE 6. HARBOR GRACE ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Harbor Grace.....	5,095	6,770	6,563	7,054	6,466	5,184	—	—	2,215	2,065
Harbor Grace (section 1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,018	917		
Harbor Grace (section 2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	919	805		
Harbor Grace (section 3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,063	939		
Harbor Grace, South.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	638	596	454	339
Bristol's Hope ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	149	150
The Gullies	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	39		
Gullies	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	47	
The Thicket	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	28		
Thicket	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	
Island Cove	910									
Upper Island Cove	—	968	1,096	1,033	869	799	—	901	942	1,080
Island Cove Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	23		
Riverhead.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	323	353
Bishop's Cove.....	381	434	415	289	314	328	—	350	357	346
Spaniard's Bay.....	1,003	1,182	1,331	1,401	1,419	1,348	1,421	1,339	1,221	1,239
Spaniard's Bay Pond ²	—	—	—	—	500	—	—	—	—	—
Spaniard's Bay Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	76	93		
Spaniard's Bay Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	33			
Fisherman's Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	81	82		
Cooper Corner Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	38	28		
Hard Path.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	48	48		
Between Bridges.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	35		
North Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	161	74		
Between Pipe Track.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5		
Pipe Track.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	8		
Otterbury.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	136	
Harvey Street.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	77		
St. Mark's Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	12		
The Village.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	12		
Dungarvon Road.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	3		
The Cross.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2		
Bryant's Cove.....	305	263	303	361	374	340	397	395	329	333
Spoon Cove.....	—	—	—	122	99	94	102	118	201	148
Butlerville.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	139
Goddenville.....	—	—	—	—	—	93	62	34	41	20
Tilton.....	—	—	—	370	377	429	397	341	386	415
Jugglers Cove.....	209									
Whitemonday Hill.....	238									
Mercer's Cove ³	225									
Beachy Cove ³	289									
Centre Harbor.....	262									
Dock Point.....	273									
Spaniards Bay Bridge and Pond.....	223									
Coosh and Country Path	157									
Bay Roberts, incl.										
Spaniards Bay Bridge and Pond, Coosh and Country Path ³	—	2,459								
Bay Roberts, incl.										
Spaniards Bay Bridge and Pond ³	—	—	2,367	2,763						

¹See also Carbonear Division.²See also Shearstown, below.³See also Port-de-Grave division.

TABLE 6. HARBOR GRACE ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1957	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Bay Roberts ¹	—	—	—	—	2,177	2,226	2,187	2,168		
Shear's Town ²	—	—	—	—	—	577				
Shearston.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	650	703		
Shearstown.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	712	622
Coley's Point ¹	497	664	—	—	983	962	946	914		
Coley's Point and Country Path ¹	—	—	980	1,334						
Country Road ¹	—	—	—	—	303	291	360	364		

¹See also Port-de-Grave Division.²See Spaniard's Bay Pond, above.TABLE 7. CARBONEAR ELECTORAL DIVISION
[Combined with Bay-de-Verde Division, 1935 and 1945]

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Bristol's Hope ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	264	189		
Carbonear.....	4,808	4,556	4,358	3,756	4,127	3,703	384	339	3,367	3,472
Carbonear.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	599	1,069		
Carbonear.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,309	1,300		
Carbonear.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	673			
Carbonear (East).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	825		
Carbonear Island.....	—	—	—	—	—	10	7	7		
South Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	575			
Mosquito, North and South Point, incl.										
Pond Head.....	416									
Musquitto.....	—	348								
Mosquito.....	—	—	337							
Mosquito.....	—	—	—	516	312	253				
Crocker's Cove.....	—	451	441	1,486	688	240	304			
Heart's Content Road and Victoria Village										
Victoria.....	—	206	265	448	638	818	999	1,101	1,004	1,099

¹See also Harbor Grace division.TABLE 8. BAY-DE-VERDE ELECTORAL DIVISION
[Combined with Carbonear Division 1935 and 1945]

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Freshwater South and North.....	322	392	464	557						
Freshwater.....	—	—	—	—	573	534	565	566	372	311
Clown's Cove.....	145	—	172	212	199	216	177	235	174	151
Clown Cove.....	—	153								
Bunker's Hill.....	—	25								

TABLE 8. BAY-DE-VERDE ELECTORAL DIVISION Continued

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1844	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Flat Rock }	93	—	165	169	173	218				
Flat Rocks }	—	113								
Flatrock }	—	—	—	—	—	—	243	269	206	170
Blow-me-Down.....	24	58	68	76	71	74	81	109	60	21
Otterbury.....	76	75	66	84	51	43	51	56	69	29
Salmon Cove Head.....	20	12								
Salmon Cove.....	58	92	144	245	325	350	419	514	497	619
Marshall's Folly.....	50	79	52	—	34	31	32			
Marshall's Folly.....	—	—	—	37	—	—	—	56		
Perry's Cove.....	186	248	253	282	288	327	314	362	368	345
Upper Small Point }	104	139	110	124	151	157	190			
Kingston }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	195	129	140
Lower Small Point.....	79	—	102	—	220	256	251	281	222	179
Spout Cove.....	32	44	45	53	60	71	88	112	79	55
Mully's Cove.....	240	343								
Mulley's Cove.....	—	—	—	251	222	217	166	141	100	57
Murray's Cove.....	—	—	300							
Broad Cove }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	407	—	207
Broad Cove North }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
and South }	511	580	566							
Broad Cove, South.....	—	—	—	370	389	381	440	—	277	
Broad Cove, North.....	—	—	—	189	178	186	206	209	130	88
Black Head }	215	257	229	196	242	268				
Blackhead }	—	—	—	—	—	—	249	245	183	117
Gussett's Cove }	—	68	—	—	54	—	30	14		
Gusset's Cove }	—	—	81	69	—	31				
Adam's Cove.....	359	378	370	469	468	459	450	358	223	212
Bradley's Cove.....	173	135	144	148	144	132	130	128	99	109
Western Bay.....	454	912	957	1,117	1,043					
Western Bay (South).....	—	—	—	—	—	349	368	489	357	306
Western Bay (Riverhead).....	—	—	—	—	—	229	222			
Western Bay (North).....	—	—	—	—	—	387	376	380	329	290
Ochre Pit Cove.....	634	359	391	385	264	262	275	292	251	239
Ochre Pit Cove to Job's Cove (straight shore)....	597									
Smooth Cove.....	—	—	—	—	49	30	44	36	47	45
Northern Bay.....	—	398	413	445	435	427	406	448	299	272
Long Beach.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	133	148
Gull Island.....	—	166	209	251	247	241	267	290	318	325
Burnt Point.....	—	115	117	131	158	189	212	239	311	308
Job's Cove.....	276	284	245	325	275	273	315	332	326	335
Island Cove }	738	826								
Lower Island Cove }	—	—	816	967	847	811	785	807	633	564
Bay-de-Verds }	584	657	678	705						
Bay-de-Verde }	—	—	—	—	644	712	762	866	823	873
Red Clift Cove }	50									
Red Head Cove ¹ }	—	—	—	132	144	174	177	190	240	239
Grate's Cove ¹	—	—	—	590	509	535	659	772	689	480
Daniel's Cove ¹	—	—	—	23	27	33	35	47	73	77
Old Perlican ¹	—	—	—	951	860	843	875	900	706	693
Red Lands }	—	—	45	50	51	48	—	35		
Redlands }	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	—	33	
Boney Brook }	24									
Bonny }	—	8								

¹See also Trinity Bay Division.

TABLE 8. BAY-DE-VERBE ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Low Point.....	119	64	63	83	100	97	85	79	63
Broom Cove.....	—	—	—	11	11	7	7		
Caplin Cove and Kettle Cove.....	58								
Caplin Cove.....	77	—	89	127	118	167	177	195	202
Baccalieu.....	—	—	—	—	16	19	7	12	12
Burnt Woods.....	—	—	75	80	68	43	77		

TABLE 9. TRINITY BAY - PART OF ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Red Head Cove ¹	—	89	98						
Grates Cove ¹	577	540	565						
Daniel's Cove ¹	36	28	23						
Old Perlican ¹	792	868	920						
Russell's Cove }.....	—	—	137	199					
Russel's Cove }.....	—	—	—	—	253	255			
New Melbourne }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	309	377	263
Whale's Brook.....	—	—	39	—	54	64	66	96	65
Lead and Sibley's Cove....	—	—	61						
Sibley's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	95	67	95	99	101
Lead Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	57	86	114	112
Torquay.....	—	—	—	—	—	24	25	32	36
Lance Cove }.....	105	—	93	—	133	152			
Brownsdale }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	157	116	157
Lance Cove Bight.....	—	277							
Seal Cove }.....	138	197	233	247	268	313			
New Chelsea }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	353	365	326
Hant's Harbor.....	622	738	652	752	693	727	688	687	656
Scilly's Cove }.....	474	563							
Scilly Cove }.....	—	—	694	759	787	915			
Winterton }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,039	1,098	977
Turk's Cove.....	112	80	110	91	84	77	68	73	60
New Perlican.....	482	424	509	497	570	574	666	699	667
Vitter's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	95
Heart's Content.....	654	889	1,024	1,185	1,186	1,079	1,017	1,229	918
Heart's Desire.....	71	97	109	136	132	159	168	172	191
Heart's Delight.....	224	322	357	392	430	526	553	584	595
Island Cove }.....	41	49	78	66	90	104			
Islington }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	155	177	203
Shoal Harbor }.....	23	68	88	111					
Shoal Bay }.....	—	—	—	—	128	139			
Cavendish }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	180	162	231

¹See also Bay-de-Verde Division.

TABLE 9. TRINITY BAY - PART OF ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Witler's Bay	—	12	31							
Witless Bay	—	—	—	55	73	91	124			
Whiteway	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	143	153	149
Whitbourne	—	—	—	—	361	643	400	412	520	607
Blaketown	—	—	—	—	282	242	237	251	184	217
Markland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	635	395
Placentia Jct.	—	—	—	—	95	37	24	33		
Hall's Bay Railway	—	—	—	—	16					
Green's Harbor	63	213	302	415	422	514	635	665	600	600
Hope All	—	33	58							
Hopeall	—	—	—	97	94	113	127	141	169	164
New Harbor	257	279	—	420	452	551	646	644	685	687
Anderson's Cove	—	—	—	6						
Dildo Cove	155	188	—	346	375					
Dildo	—	—	337	—	—	425	438	527	491	536
South Dildo	—	16	—	73	54	62	81	67	99	106
Broad Cove	—	—	—	8	22	33	10	—	34	36
Old Shop	19	46	—	40	75	106	102	98	111	131
Spread Eagle	—	7	7	14	30	35	38	40	45	73
Lodges	—	—	—	27	10	7				
Little Ridge	—	—	—	15	18	25	23	39	53	
Little Gut	—	—	—	—	—	—	4			
Chapel Arm	130	223	—	—	91	—	173	219	282	381
Chappel Arm	—	—	122	—	—	—				
Chapel	—	—	—	—	—	122				
Chappel	—	—	—	85						
Newman's Cove	—	—	147							
Norman's Cove	—	—	—	158	196	247	265	314	375	417
Long Cove	—	—	—	37	42	41	71	—	—	144
Long's Cove	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	115	126	
Colliers Bay	—	17	20							
Colliers Bay Cove	—	—	—	34	43	41	48			
Thornlea	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	63	77	96
Tickle Harbor	51	48	74	124	125					
Bellevue	—	—	—	—	—	140	158	184	187	204
Tickle Harbor Crossing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11		
Chance Cove	81	98	141	165	126	129	195	239	289	381
Rentom	—	12								
Rantem, S.W. Arm	—	—	20							
Rantem	—	—	—	7	24	28	—	30	21	16
Rentem	—	—	—	—	—	—	38			
Rantem Station	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	7	
Bay Bulls Arm	—	28	—	—	—	241	292			
Bottom Bay Bulls Arm	—	—	—	22	92					
Sunnyside	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	337	383	399
Centre's Cove	—	—	—	—	19					
Arnold's Cove Station	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	
Arnold's Cove Station East	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3

TABLE 10. PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S ELECTORAL DIVISION

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Cape Race ¹	—	—	18	27	14					
Cape Race Light House....	4									
Cape Race, Long Beach and Droke.....	—	46								
Long Beach ¹	—	—	20	18	25	26	39	40		
Droke }.....	—	—	23							
Drook ¹ }.....	—	—	—	27	32	32	43	48		
Daly's Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12		
Portugal Cove ¹ }.....	28	—	51	88	104	117	137			
Portugal Cove South ¹ }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	161		
Portugal Cove Point ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	20		
Biscay Bay ¹	12	—	25	34	42	87	85	77		
Biscay Bay and Portugal Cove ¹	—	72								
Powell's Head.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	9			
Trepassey ¹ }.....	541	—	503	668	684	792	372			
Trepassy ¹ }.....	—	514								
Trepassey ¹ }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	275	394		
Trepassey (Central) ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	298		
Shoal Point ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	48	50		
Daniel's Point ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	112	115		
Cape Pine Light House....	8									
Cape Pine ¹	—	19	19	15	16	4	11	13		
Cape Freels.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	7		
St. Shotts and Peter River	45									
St. Shots ¹ }.....	—	30								
St. Shotts ¹ }.....	—	—	33	59	73	83	98	117		
Peters River and Holy- rood.....	—	158								
Peter's River.....	—	—	32	81	76	70	55	53	50	43
Holly Rood }.....	—	—	118	190						
Holyrood }.....	94	—	—	—	218	278				
Middle Gut.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	78	73	
St. Vincent's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	291	301	384	422
St. Stephen's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	76
Gulch.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	79
Gaskier }.....	100									
Gaskin }.....	—	189	220							
Gascoigne }.....	—	—	—	249	274	123				
Gaskier's }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	170	—	204	235
Gaskiers }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	217	—	157
Point La Haye.....	84	—	—	—	—	156	181	—	150	
St. Mary's and Riverhead	—	642								
St. Mary's.....	692	—	665	489	518	483	438	400	375	
Riverhead.....	—	—	—	297	323	—	260	299	265	270
Shoal Bay.....	—	—	—	—	—	8	16			
Path End.....	—	—	—	—	—	43	58	54	45	60
Coate's Pond }.....	—	—	—	—	—	45				
Cout's Pond }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	63	57	75	90
Mall Bay }.....	37	—	75	68	74	90	—	110	102	100
Maul Bay }.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	125			
Mall Bay, Musquito and Mother Rex.....	—	122								

¹See also Ferryland Division.

TABLE 10. PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S ELECTORAL DIVISION Continued

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Mosquito.....	43	—	38	57	61	62	45	45	72	70
Mother Ixx's	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mother Ixx	—	—	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mother Rex	—	—	—	27	34	62	—	—	—	—
Regina	—	—	—	—	—	—	54	69	81	104
Admiral's Beach.....	27	19	20	27	28	35	38	33	31	31
Little Island.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Little Salmonier.....	6	—	—	9	—	11	—	—	—	—
Middle House.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barrisway.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Little Barachois.....	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—
North Harbor.....	38	—	39	94	96	114	132	153	148	147
North Harbor to Cape Dog.....	—	218	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cape Dog.....	21	—	37	6	7	—	6	2	—	—
Dog Bay.....	—	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
John's Pond.....	65	—	79	56	61	72	54	26	17	15
Colinet.....	16	—	46	50	59	90	111	109	120	153
Harry Cove	20	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harricot	—	—	—	30	—	46	52	36	45	165
Harricot Cove	—	—	—	—	43	—	—	—	—	—
Garden Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	—
Pinch Gut Tickle	—	—	34	—	—	42	—	—	—	—
Pinchgut Ticks	—	—	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tickles	37	—	—	—	31	—	46	40	48	48
Salmonier.....	301	—	516	688	—	—	467	521	—	—
Salmonier.....	—	336	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
N. & S. Side, Salmonier..	—	—	—	—	714	—	—	—	—	—
Salmonier, N. Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	388	—	—	—	—
Salmonier, S. Side.....	—	—	—	—	—	373	—	—	—	—
Salmonier (Head).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	11	—	—
Mount Carmel.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	325	381
Muscle Pond	10	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mussel Pond	—	—	22	19	30	75	101	148	170	159
St. Joseph's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	314	338	313	302
New Bridge.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	139	91	64
Forest Field.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	29
St. Catherine's.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	54
Mitchell's Brook.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	131	145
Beckford	10	12	17	9	24	32	18	—	18	14
Peckford	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—
Branch.....	133	162	157	211	265	364	407	405	386	417
East Cove.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	15	16
Gull Cove.....	7	11	14	20	20	22	14	15	—	—
Point Lance.....	12	20	31	36	40	43	57	60	89	107
Golden Bay.....	5	5	5	5	3	9	10	—	8	—
Cape St. Mary's.....	—	16	—	11	8	10	—	8	3	—
Cape St. Mary's Light House.....	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lear's Cove.....	13	17	19	21	16	15	18	7	14	14
Distress	101	127	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Bride's or Distress	—	—	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Bride's	—	—	—	207	256	268	264	299	320	294
Cuslett	9	18	23	48	62	—	—	92	—	142
Custlett	—	—	—	—	—	68	80	—	108	—

TABLE 10. PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S ELECTORAL DIVISION Continued

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Angel's Cove	13	7	14	—	35	41	51	59	74	—
Angle's Cove	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
Patrick's Cove	29	—	43	60	78	86	89	93	110	—
Patrick Cove	—	40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gooseberry	13	—	11	12	12	22	21	15	10	—
Goosberry	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ship Cove	21	—	23	29	25	38	50	49	66	—
Ship's Cove	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Little and Great Barrisway	27	44	34	43	—	—	—	—	—	—
Little Barrisway	—	—	—	—	29	45	—	24	36	—
Little Barachois	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	—	—	—
Great Barrisway	—	—	—	—	30	54	—	33	37	—
Great Barachois	—	—	—	—	—	—	43	—	—	—
Point Verd	80	135	138	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Point Verde	—	—	—	151	161	186	227	257	212	—
Placentia	582	399	—	—	—	624	567	544	469	—
Great Placentia	—	—	415	508	562	—	—	—	—	—
N.E. Arm of Placentia	232	282	358	370	472	451	—	—	—	—
S.E. Arm of Placentia	—	213	211	244	269	240	—	229	—	—
South East Placentia	—	—	—	—	—	—	206	—	216	—
Placentia Junction	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38	—
First Beach and Fresh- water, Placentia	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fresh Water	—	22	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Freshwater	—	—	—	27	34	51	57	51	33	—
Jersey Side (Placentia)	—	—	—	—	—	143	194	232	161	—
Dunville	—	—	—	—	—	—	509	331	261	—
S.E. Mountain	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Block House	—	—	36	6	—	—	59	—	—	—
Point Mall	46	34	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Point Moll	—	—	—	54	—	—	—	—	—	—
Point Molle	—	—	—	—	74	—	—	—	—	—
Marquise and Point Mall	—	—	—	—	—	289	—	—	—	—
Marquise and Salmonier	121	—	157	187	187	—	—	—	—	—
Marquise	—	75	—	—	—	—	310	324	283	—
Salmonear	—	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Villa Maria	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
Sandy Cove	—	66	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Little Placentia	486	383	344	362	358	407	—	—	—	—
Argentia	—	—	—	—	—	—	438	392	477	—
Little Placentia Sound	—	—	—	—	—	47	—	—	—	—
Sound (Argentia)	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	—
Placentia Sound	—	—	—	36	34	—	—	4	—	—
Little Placentia and Sound	—	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ship Harbor and Sound	—	38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ship Harbor	—	—	33	116	140	119	129	150	142	—
Fox Harbor	147	218	268	295	296	370	457	471	432	—
Long Harbor	121	139	158	234	217	139	260	161	397	—
Crawley's Island	—	—	—	—	—	86	—	39	—	—
Ram's Islands	131	133	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ram's Island	—	—	114	137	139	159	—	—	—	—
Iona	—	—	—	—	—	—	133	100	67	—
Mooney's Cove	—	—	15	—	16	7	—	—	—	—
Monies Cove	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 10. PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S ELECTORAL DIVISION Concluded

Locality	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945
Frenney Cove }	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fenney's Cove }.....	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—
Fenney Cove }	—	—	—	—	—	29	—	—	—	—
Trinney Cove }	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	23	—	—
Tickle Harbor Station.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Pinch and Famished Guts	—	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Famish Gut }	—	—	—	32	29	61	—	—	—	—
Famish Cove }	—	—	—	—	—	—	68	78	119	110
Pinch Gut }	—	—	—	—	30	19	—	—	—	—
Pinch Cove }	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	18	—	—
Little Harbor }	—	21	47	43	43	59	75	—	—	—
Little Harbor, East }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	91	101	137
La Manche Mining }	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Company }	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
La Manche }	—	128	142	25	69	46	25	11	23	27
Southern Harbor }	34	24	20	29	33	—	—	93	72	90
South Harbor }	—	—	—	—	—	—	81	—	—	—
Little Southern Harbor....	—	—	—	—	—	66	—	—	—	—
Great Southern Harbor....	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—
Woody Island.....	—	78	91	138	128	—	263	262	—	—
Sound Island.....	—	229	237	265	288	—	81	236	—	—
Barron Island }	—	98	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Barren Island }	—	—	108	105	184	—	185	—	—	—
North Harbor.....	—	39	16	5	25	—	154	—	—	—
Piper's Hole.....	—	16	—	—	—	—	89	—	—	—
Sandy Harbor.....	—	36	36	29	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arnold's Cove.....	46	44	57	89	96	111	176	185	174	155
Arnold's Cove Station	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
West.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50
Come by Chance.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	42

APPENDIX V

A NEWFOUNDLAND DIALECT QUESTIONNAIRE— AVALON PENINSULA

VOCABULARY

PREFACE

The questionnaire which follows was compiled as one of the tools in the ethno-linguistic survey of the Avalon Peninsula. It contains items designed (a) to furnish evidence of a lexical nature as to the dialect affiliation of selected communities, and (b) incidentally to furnish evidence for the investigation of other aspects of local speech. In this latter purpose it merely supplements other methods.

The arrangement of variant forms has been designed to make it possible for untrained students to record usage on the questionnaire-sheets. For actual field-work, however, the interviewer records answers on 6 × 4 in. slips, each with serial numbers identifying the informant.

Both the experimental nature of the questionnaire and its deliberate limitations are stressed. Earlier drafts were prepared in October and November 1958, and tested on nearly two-score students drawn from all parts of the Island. It is proposed to use the present version for a wide-meshed survey and sampling operation. Continued revision will be made in the light of further information and experience. Mr. P. D. Drysdale shared in the work of preparation and testing.

Serial number.....

Interviewed by.....

Date.....

Name.....

Place of birth.....

Age.....

Level of education.....

Occupation.....

Religion.....

Place(s) of residence.....

Birthplace of father.....

Family origin.....

Birthplace of mother.....

Family origin.....

Approximate date of family settlement.....

Comments:

PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN FIELD RECORDS

The phonetic alphabet and diacritics correspond to those used in *The Linguistic Atlas of New England* (see *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*: Providence, 1939: 122 ff.), with the following exceptions:

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

æ (sometimes æ̃) is used for a sound intermediate between e and æ. This vowel frequently appears in words like *bat*, *catch*, the same speaker using æ in words like *glass*, *laugh*, *bath*, *dance*, *aunt*, *half*, *calm*.

θ is used for a rounded variant of ʌ, frequently appearing in words like *cup*, *tub*, *thumb* and, less frequently, *love*, *month*, as well as others.

r is used in stressed syllables for a sound with more retroflexion than ɹ; in unstressed syllables it appears in contrast with ə and, sometimes, ər.

SHIFT SIGNS

- ɹ is used to indicate retroflexion. Thus $\underset{\text{r}}{a}$ denotes retroflex *a*.
ː is used to indicate distinct tenseness in vowels, often co-existent with a closer and longer vowel than normal. Thus $\underset{\cdot}{I}$ denotes tense *l* (distinct from *i*).

STRESS

Stress, where indicated, is marked by the following signs, which are written over the relevant symbols:—

- ˈ denotes primary stress;
- ˆ denotes secondary stress;
- ˋ denotes tertiary stress.

Weak stress (as in unstressed syllables) is not indicated.

OTHER INFORMATION RECORDED IN FIELD RECORDS FOR WHICH SPECIAL SYMBOLS (NOT LISTED HERE) WERE DEVISED

- Question put, no reply (including 'don't know', etc.)
- Answer not spontaneous; definite hesitation
- Answer forced
- Word supplied; not known
- Word supplied used as natural form (pronunciation given)
- Word recognized, heard, but not used by informant
- Word recognized, but obsolete or obsolescent
- Word recognized, but recent, confined to young
- Word recognized, woman's term
- Conversational form obtained without direct inquiry
- Repeated at the request of the field worker
- Corrected spontaneously by the informant
- Form supplied by a person other than the informant
- Apparently over-careful pronunciation
- Exceptionally fast pronunciation
- Humour on the part of informant
- Doubt on the part of informant
- Humour on the part of field worker (or surprise)
- Doubt on the part of field worker (for any reason)

A. FARMING, LANDSCAPE, ETC.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. What do you call a low-lying piece of land that is wet and has grass and weeds on it? | (a) marsh
(b) mash
(c) mish
(d) mesh
(e) mox
(f) mux |
| 2. What do you call a small stream of water not big enough to be called a river? | (a) branch
(b) brook
(c) creek
(d) drain
(e) dribble
(f) rivulet
(g) run
(h) sicheturn |
| 3. What do you call a small, rounded hill (1) wooded (2) bare? | (a) clumper
(b) hillick
(c) hummick
(d) hummock
(e) hummet
(f) knap
(g) knoll
(h) nuddick |

4. What do you call a place between steep hills (1) wooded (2) bare?
 - (a) bottom
 - (b) dean
 - (c) droke
 - (d) drook
 - (e) gulch
 - (f) gully
 - (g) valley
5. What do you call a narrow road or path?
 - (a) boreen
 - (b) drang
 - (c) drung
 - (d) dray-road
6. What do you call a stunted, dead or weather-beaten tree?
 - (a) cranic
 - (b) cronic
 - (c) rampike
7. What do you call the lichen that grows on spruce and fir trees?
 - (a) mall down
 - (b) moldow
 - (c) old-man's-whiskers
8. What nick-name have you for dandelions?
 - (a) piss-a-beds
 - (b) waptoddy
9. What do you call low bushes on the barrens?
 - (a) browse
 - (b) gool
 - (c) goowitty
 - (d) patches
 - (e) scrub
 - (f) thickets
 - (g) tuck
 - (h) tuckame
10. What name have you for the evergreen tree that oozes gum (resin)?
 - (a) snotty var/vir
 - (b) stalligan
 - (c) starrigan
11. What other names have you for blueberries?
 - (a) hurts
 - (b) urts
12. What name have you for a tree the leaves of which are always shaking?
 - (a) asp
 - (b) hapse
 - (c) shivery a.
13. What do you call submerged and/or barely submerged rocks?
 - (a) breakers
 - (b) brandies
 - (c) bubbies
 - (d) harries
 - (e) ledge
 - (f) sunkers

B. WEATHER

1. What do you call the results of a quick freeze-up after rain?
 - (a) glidder
 - (b) glitter
 - (c) sleet
 - (d) silver thaw
2. What do you call a sudden snow-storm?
 - (a) blizzard
 - (b) dwye
 - (c) squall
3. What name have you for late spring snow falls?
 - (a) Patrick's Brush
 - (b) Sheila's Brush
4. What name have you for fall storms when the sun crosses the line?
 - (a) liners
 - (b) October gailers
 - (c) sneezers

5. What do you call the vapour that rises off the water after a cold night?
 - (a) barber
 - (b) frostfall
 - (c) steam
 - (d) vapour
 6. What do you call a sudden slackening in the wind?
 - (a) dally
 - (b) lull
 - (c) lun
 7. What do you call ice piled on the shore?
 - (a) ballycarders
 - (b) ballycatters
 - (c) barricaders
 - (d) battycatters
 8. What do you call slivers of ice hanging from the eaves of a house?
 - (a) conker-bells
 - (b) icicles
 - (c) ice-candles
 9. How would you describe a sky which promised bad weather?
 - (a) lorrying
 - (b) lowry
 - (c) threatening
 10. How would you describe a wet, foggy day?
 - (a) drizzly
 - (b) mausey
 - (c) muggy
- C. HOUSEHOLD, FOOD, DRINK
1. What do you call the small room built on back of a house?
 - (a) back-house
 - (b) back-porch
 - (c) shed
 - (d) linny
 2. What do you call a wooden floor or walk-way?
 - (a) planchin
 3. What do you call a snack between meals?
 - (a) mug-up
 - (b) elevener
 - (c) fourer
 - (d) lunch
 - (e) prog
 4. What do you call the stick used for stirring porridge or mixing cakes?
 - (a) chem
 - (b) ladle
 - (c) mundel
 - (d) porridge stick
 5. What do you call heavy, doughy bread or cake?
 - (a) dunch
 - (b) dunchy
 - (c) soggy
 6. What name have you for pan-cakes?
 - (a) bang-bellies
 - (b) damper-devils
 - (c) damper-dogs
 - (d) flap-jacks
 - (e) gandies
 - (f) slap-me-asses
 7. What do you call boiled molasses?
 - (a) coady
 - (b) docky
 - (c) conkey
- D. GAMES, POPULAR BELIEFS, ETC.
1. What names have you for the 'devil'?
 - (a) Old Nick
 - (b) Old Boy
 - (c) Old Scratch
 - (d) Old Hornie
 - (e) Bad Man
 - (f) Black Man
 - (g) Satan

2. What nick-names have you for other religious denominations?
 - (a) micks
 - (b) blacks
 - (c) crawlers
 - (d) dippers
 - (e) gabbites
 - (f) Herring Chockers
 - (g) Holy Rollers
 - (h) Sally Ann's
 - (i) Turn-coats
 - (j) ranters
 3. What name have you for the Milky Way?
 - (a) Cow's Path
 - (b) Maiden Vein
 4. What do you call running from one pan of ice to another?
 - (a) caddying
 - (b) copying
 - (c) cribbying
 - (d) flipsying
 - (e) pankin
 - (f) ranking
 - (g) shinnying
 - (h) tippyng
 - (i) tuffying
 5. What do you call the game in which every one hides except "it" who must try to find the others?
 - (a) cook
 - (b) hunt
 - (c) go-seek
 - (d) hide-and-seek
 - (e) hoist-your-sails-and-run
 6. What do you call shying flat stones over the surface of the water?
 - (a) flip
 - (b) ducks-and-drakes
 - (c) jillick
 - (d) pancakes
 - (e) skimmy
 - (f) skin-the-pond
 - (g) skipping stones
 - (h) sletherum
 7. What do you call people who dress up at Christmas and visit homes?
 - (a) darbies
 - (b) jannies
 - (c) johnies
 - (d) mummers
 8. What do children do on St. Stephen's Day?
 - (a) sing "Hunting the Wren"
 9. What do you call the balanced board on which two children, sitting one at each end, move up and down?
 - (a) Seesaw
 - (b) teeter
 - (c) teeter-board
 - (d) tilting-board
- E. THE FISHERIES**
1. What do you call small, unsplit cod?
 - (a) leggies
 - (b) rounders
 - (c) slocums
 2. What do you call the stomach of a cod?
 - (a) puddick
 3. What do you call a good boat-load of fish?
 - (a) batty
 - (b) dog-load
 - (c) bumper-load
 - (d) log-load
 - (e) skiff-load
 - (f) sapper
 - (g) swamper

4. What do you call the container used for bailing a small boat?
 - (a) bailing-bucket
 - (b) piggin
 - (c) punt's scoop
 - (d) scoop
 - (e) spudgle
5. What do you call the implement used for heaving fish from boat to wharf?
 - (a) fish-prong
 - (b) prong
 - (c) pitch-fork
 - (d) pew
 - (e) tine
6. What do you call the small sled on wooden runners used:
(1) on a wharf or fishing premises (2) in the woods?
 - (a) handsery
 - (b) nansery
 - (c) hand-slide
 - (d) hoss-cat
 - (e) skerry
 - (f) grunter
 - (g) katamaran
 - (h) cat
 - (i) komatic
 - (j) go-devil
 - (k) slide
7. What do you call a tub, with side handles made out of a half-barrel, and used for washing fish, etc?
 - (a) covel
 - (b) cooler
 - (c) bar-tub
 - (d) barrel
 - (e) gully
 - (f) hand-barrel
8. What do you call a fisherman's apron?
 - (a) barbel
 - (b) barvel
9. What do you call a home-made anchor?
 - (a) granny
 - (b) killick
 - (c) mooring-anchor
10. What do you call the perpendicular posts which support the front of a fishing stage?
 - (a) props
 - (b) shores
 - (c) stouters
 - (d) strouters
11. What do you call the posts on a wharf used for tying up boats?
 - (a) grumps
 - (b) gumps
 - (c) g.-heads
12. What do you call the place where fish is spread to dry?
 - (a) flake
 - (b) bawn
 - (c) vigneaux
13. What do you call the appearance of caplin inshore in June?
 - (a) the scull
 - (b) caplin scull
14. What do you call an armful of fish?
 - (a) cautter
 - (b) foddick
 - (c) yaffle
15. What do you call the fingerless gloves used to prevent falls in line-fishing?
 - (a) cuffs
 - (b) handyans
 - (c) haulers
 - (d) nippers
 - (e) palms

F. MISCELLANEOUS

1. What do you call a weak, miserable person?
 - (a) poor crater
 - (b) p. angishore
 - (c) p. hangishore
 - (d) kenat
 - (e) pilgarlic
 - (f) scraufeen
 - (g) smulky
2. What do you call an exaggerated tale?
 - (a) bam
 - (b) cuffer
 - (c) yarn
3. What do you call small slivers of wood used as kindling?
 - (a) bavins
 - (b) chobies
 - (c) chovies
 - (d) spalls
 - (e) spills
 - (f) splits
4. What do you call a small, floating iceberg?
 - (a) clumper
 - (b) clumpet
 - (c) growler
5. What names have you for earthworms?
 - (a) angle-dogs
 - (b) angle-worms
 - (c) isses
 - (d) yesses
6. What do you call a small amount over and above the quantity purchased?
 - (a) make-weight
 - (b) tilly
7. What do you call a free gift presented to the first buyer?
 - (a) bait
 - (b) hansel
8. What do you call a sore finger, or sore on a finger?
 - (a) dead-eye
 - (b) fester
 - (c) gall
 - (d) gather
 - (e) proud
 - (f) witlow
9. What do you call the hollows under the arms?
 - (a) arm-pits
 - (b) oxters
 - (c) uxters
10. What do you call a very thin person?
 - (a) rames
 - (b) raverin
 - (c) skeleton
 - (d) skinmalink
 - (e) slink
11. What do you call someone you've never seen before?
 - (a) frenne
 - (b) stranger
12. What name have you for a stupid person?
 - (a) gawk
 - (b) gomel
 - (c) gomeril
 - (d) joskin
 - (e) omadown
 - (f) omaloor
 - (g) ownshook
 - (h) scoopendike
 - (i) scumpsion
 - (j) scrumshy

13. What do you call a temporary shelter in the woods?

- (a) bower
- (b) bow-house
- (c) bough-wiffin
- (d) hut
- (e) lean-to
- (f) tilt

14. What name do you have for a wooden fence?

- (a) herring-bone fence
- (b) rail fence
- (c) ringle-fence
- (d) ringle-rod fence
- (e) snake fence
- (f) zig-zag fence

15. What do you call the wooden rack or frame on which logs are placed for sawing?

- (a) wood horse
- (b) wood rack
- (c) saw horse

16. What do you call a young woman?

- (a) girl
- (b) lass
- (c) maid
- (d) wench

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